Indian Civilization

The First Phase

Problems of a Sourcebook

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Volume 17

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INDIAN CIVILIZATION: THE FIRST PHASE

Problems of a Sourcebook

(Based on the Proceedings of a Seminar)

Edited and Introduced by

S. C. MALIK

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PREFACE

In this book, Dr. S. C. Malik, Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study and my esteemed colleague, has edited the Transactions of the Seminar that was organized by the Institute on 'A Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and Asian Civilization' in September, 1970. This Seminar was organized in order to clarify the lines on which work could be taken up on 'A Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and Asian Civilization', a scheme formulated by the Union Education Ministry and entrusted to this Institute for completion. The Institute is grateful to all the scholars and orientalists who participated in the Seminar. Their papers and the proceedings of the Seminar are sure to stimulate students of the subject to further enquiry by highlighting problems and possible solutions. I am also grateful to Dr. S. C. Malik, who has edited this bye-product of the scheme in a manner which throws light on the magnitude and many-faceted nature of the subject.

VINAYAK KRISHNA GOKAK
General Editor

Simla
1st May, 1971.

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

INTRODUCTION xiii

GENERAL

The Perspective

Vinayak Krishna Gokak : Perspectives for a Sourcebook ... 5

Y. S. Parmar : The Need for an Indian Outlook 14

R. C. Majumdar : Plans for a Sourcebook: Some Thoughts ... 18

V. Raghavan : On a Sourcebook by Indians 22

D. N. Shastri : Indian Scholars only? 26

D. R. Bendre : A Literary Focus 27

Difficulties

D. C. Sircar : Sourcebook: General Difficulties 31

K. A. Nilakanta Shastri : Problems Related to South India ... 34

T. V. Mahalingam : South Indian Sources: Difficulties ... 36

A. Ghosh : Need for Clear Definitions 39

Approaches to Civilization

Vinayak Krishna Gokak : On Kroeber's Nature of Culture and the Ancient Oikoumenê 45

Vidya Niwas Misra : The Indian Concept of Civilization in the Modern Context 54

S. C. Malik : Indian History and Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives 61

Baidyanath Saraswati : An Anthropologist's Approach ... 69

B. N. Mukherjee : On Defining Civilization 75

R. P. Manandhar : Civilization: The Importance of Myths ... 78

Geographical and Chronological Limits

Barun De : Encapsulation as an Alternative to the Difficulties of Periodizing Indian History 83
B. D. Chattopadhyaya : The Chronological and Geographical Scope 93
B. N. Mukherjee : On Periodization 98
Baidyanath Saraswati : Chronological and Geographical Limits 100
P. B. Desai : Chronological Limits for South India ... 104
Nilratan Sen : Eastern Vernaculars: Geographical and Chronological Limits 106

STRUCTURE AND DESIGN

Structure

Vinayak Krishna Gokak : A Plan for a Sourcebook ... 113
A. D. Pusalkar : A Table of Contents 126
Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya : Ancient Indian Terms as Guide-Lines 131
Aryendra Sharma : Social Conditions: Topics 134
B. N. Mukherjee : Problems of Compilation 136
Baidyanath Saraswati : Methodology of a Sourcebook ... 140
Vidya Niwas Misra : Methodology: Some Thoughts ... 142
Romila Thapar : An Outline of a Scheme 144

UTILIZATION OF SOURCES: EXAMPLES

Literary Texts and Linguistics

V. Raghavan : Utilization of Literary Material in Sanskrit ... 151
C. E. Ramachandran : Sangam Literature as a Source ... 165
A. N. Upadhye : Literary Material on Jainism 171
Nilratan Sen : Eastern (NIA) Vernaculars as a Source ... 174
N. C. Nath : A Word-Study Approach 186
Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya : Linguistics as a Window: A Note 189

Philosophy and Religion

A. K. Majumdar: Area and Time Dimensions of Philosophy, Religion and Art ... 197
D. N. Shastri: Classification of Material: A Note ... 200
Siddheswar Bhattacharya: Philosophy, Religion and Civilization: A Note ... 202

Archæology and Anthropology

H. D. Sankalia and *M. K. Dhavalikar:* The Importance of Archæology ... 207
B. B. Lal: Archæology as a Source: A Note ... 210
Irawati Karve: Utilization of Folk-lore and Myths ... 212

Plastic Arts

M. K. Dhavalikar: The Plastic Arts ... 221
Kalyan Kumar Ganguli: Dress and Ornaments ... 230

Other Asian Countries and India

Sachchidananda Sahai: Indian Diplomatic Theories in Ancient Cambodia (600-1300 A.D.) ... 241
Vishal Singh: India and Civilization in South-East Asia ... 251
K. D. Bajpai: South-East Asian Sculpture as a Source ... 255
C. Sivaramamurti: Art and Architectural Motifs in India and South-East Asia ... 259
P. B. Desai: Karnataka Region and its Asian Contacts: A Note ... 262
K. V. Ramanan: Chinese Buddhist Sources: A List ... 264
Kapila Vatsyayan: Source Material for the Performing Arts ... 267
R. P. Manandhar: The Himalayan Region, Specially Nepal ... 270
S. T. Lokhandwalla: Arabic Sources and Some Lesser Known Ismaili Material ... 274
M. Mohiuddin: Central Asian and Persian Sources: A Note ... 281
H. K. Mirza: On Avesta, Pahlvi and Persian Sources ... 285

SUMMARY ... 293
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND CONTRIBUTORS ... 303

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that observations by outsiders about Indian society have been recorded since the *3rd* century B.C., specially by the Greeks, Romans, Byzantine Jews, and the Chinese. These foreign accounts are known to have increased rapidly from 1000 A.D. onwards with the coming of the Arabs, Turks, Afghans and Persians. However, most classical accounts of Indian society follow Megasthenes, who had the advantage of a direct observation of Indian society. But his observations were mainly of urban political centres. Arab accounts follow the classical view of mentioning seven classes of Indian society. Roman accounts are mainly geographic in nature, while the later *17th* century accounts tend to give the Mughal court version of political and commercial matters. Thus, the goals of all these early historical accounts depended upon the viewpoint of those times.

The advent of British suzerainty during the *18th* century brought into focus three major approaches to the study of Indian society; the orientalist, the administrative and the missionary.

The orientalist had uncritically accepted the textual view of Indian society, which was considered to be timeless and static; the statements from the texts of the *3rd* century were as good for the *18th* century Indian society. Thus, there was no regional variation in this view, so that no questions were asked about the relationships between prescriptive normative statements derived from the texts and the actual behaviour of individuals and groups. Today, this stereotype, that every Hindu follows the textual rules, seems to continue to haunt not only the academic but also the lay.

The missionary view was at polar ends to the orientalist because it condemned outright Hindu society in order to destroy the social basis of Hinduism. But, indirectly, it contributed a great deal to the initiation of empirical studies of Indian society. Nevertheless, it was firmly believed that Indian society had always been corrupt, degraded and filled with absurdities.

There was the third official view of Indian society, which was based on each administrator's collected information on caste, village, family, etc. It suggested that unchanging India lay in the villages, in its social organization. This view was later incorporated by the Nationalists of the early *20th* century to suggest that prior to the coming of the British, India was well off, and was reasonably democratically governed at the village level. In a way, this is similar to the view of the orientalist who had admired India's religion and civilization as mentioned in the texts, and thought that India had fallen from a "golden age".

It seems that—apart from the attempts by a few scholars during the last decade—the orientalist viewpoint still lingers on in a majority of the writings on Indian history and civilization including the ordinary history for schools and colleges which, presumably, base their writings on scholarly works. Thus, the other-worldliness of the Indian is stressed, dynastic cycles are emphasised with glories of kings—without referring to the fact that dynasties were mainly pursuing economic and political ends in order to defend their permanent interests. These and the other myths perpetuated by the founding fathers of the historical tradition have filled our histories with gods, kings, wealth, glory, etc. Of course, it may be good to stress that in the Hindu tradition there is unity and continuity of life from the smallest to the largest. But it is certainly neither good for writing scientific history in terms of certain canons of an intellectual discipline of our times, nor does it help matters if we bask in the rays of this glorious self-image, of our moral superiority, and of our pre-eminence which we read very often into the texts. The following story is symbolic of this view:

> "There is a Greek tradition that an Indian sage who visited Socrates in Athens asked the Greek philosopher what he was engaged on; Socrates replied that he was interested in the study of men and their ways, the Indian philosopher then asked Socrates what he knew of the ways of the Gods, and when he confessed his ignorance on that subject, the Indian just smiled and said that men could not be understood without a correct knowledge of Gods and supermen".

Moreover, in India, a large majority of all shades of historians seem to be governed by an outdated historical method which believes that a body of data will reveal its own meaning and interpret itself, if only it is valid or authentic and is arranged in a time sequence. The very existence of concepts and theory —or frames of reference—is denied by many, so that this task of historical interpretation has been largely left to the non-historian. None-the-less, a characteristic claim of many an orthodox academician is that he knows historical truth simply because he claims to have no personal function in determining it; that he is simply a 'passive' channel for communicating truth which is available from the various sources. There is no doubt that he is, indeed, very ably familiar with the sources. But this familiarity also makes him claim that it is he who has, somehow, special access to truth.

There may be, admittedly, cause for scepticism and cynicism to become involved in historical interpretation since analogies and generalizations have been misused. But that is no cause to adopt such an utterly 'safe' approach, which ignores the use of concepts and abandons them completely. Shutting one's eyes to any conscious effort does not make up for objectivity. There is no history free of subjectivism and free of values, since an interpretation of the past is always an interaction of our present view of the world—universe—and our ideas about the future. For example, the Seminar organised here, in Simla, intended to explore the indigenous viewpoint, as against the Euro-American viewpoint about the Indian and other Asian civilizations. This may be seen either as a reaction or a positive effort, but in both cases it is a subjective point of view.

In the physical and natural sciences, a great deal of progress had taken place during the early history of these disciplines because certain very general abstractions were formulated from the mass of incoherent data and impressions which were of everyday experience. These abstract ideas were then investigated in and for themselves, which led to further discoveries and refinements in their concepts and methodology, whereby a greater understanding and explanation of the natural phenomena became possible. In a much similar but smaller way the progress in the social sciences has also been made because of the increasing use of different types of approaches and methodologies. Therefore, for our purpose, some of the current research methodologies of sociology and anthropology are likely to establish more accuracy and clarity, as compared to what historians sometime formulate as general propositions, rather tentatively, citing a few instances. Historical generalizations are normally arrived at by scrutinizing individual facts that are not amenable to any rational systematic means of analysis. But historians are very fond of speaking of cultures as growing, developing and dying like organic beings. Or, they generalize in terms of analogies by which one considers cultures and civilizations as trajectories of physical bodies which go up or down, or rise and fall, in a linear or curvilinear process of development. Such analogies may hold true for culture-traits but are certainly not valid for a total study of cultures and civilizations; these are extremely complex entities with numerous aspects and features not all of which are measurable. Similarly, we can scarcely reduce all changes to a single evolutionary line, or use such analogies as the 'spirit' or 'soul' of a civilization as if the collective mind as an entity exists. But the use of analogies like the "mind of India", etc. exist because of our over-consideration of personalities and the unique events of history.

It should be understood that this is not an attempt to decry what historians (archæologists) etc., have been doing uptil now. However, what is being suggested is that we view our heritage with the new knowledge that has become available to us from certain allied disciplines and thereby, look at our facts from angles which will most probably throw fresh light on the traditional history of India. But it must be admitted that a given society and culture, specially that of the past, cannot be viewed or studied from all sides at once. This is not possible even after one has put together all of the factual information which is available. None-the-less, if it can be done it may be possible to do so within certain imaginative concepts, i.e., by certain disciplined forms of abstractions. This means that we will have to use different methodological approaches than hitherto employed. It does not necessarily mean any alteration of the facts as we know today because our attention will now be focused on critical questions which will enable us to link the labours of the different sub-disciplines whose tools and techniques will be equally valid. An examination of India's past with these aims in mind might also contribute to an understanding of the human phenomenon. Consequently, the writing of any history of Indian civilization will not only merely be romantic and fascinating, but from it we may also be able to see patterns and generalizations which teach us some fruitful lessons about human history as such.

Thus, without any implications of abandoning the underlying subject matter, our quest is for grasping the fundamental theme or style of Indian culture and civilization. This we will be able to evolve only by using dynamic concepts and methods. In fact, since we are—in effect—trying to re-state and re-evaluate our history, culture, and tradition, our definitions and concepts have to be creative by being selective in the choice of source material. In other words, not even all of the potential candidates of our heritage will ever help us to comprehend and explain the problems related to an understanding of civilization in India. The listing of all of the sources will only become a meaningless morass of disconnected and disjointed facts if there is no framework, because not all the evidence in the world can bring us nearer to historical truth and objectivity, or help us to understand and explain our culture and civilization. From this viewpoint, the original sources alone will not suffice since later commentaries, reviews, views and secondary material have equally played a part in shaping cultures, including the non-literary sources.

The emphasis, from our viewpoint, will be also on the need to study regional and local histories since these may well alter the universal pattern of India which we are trying to comprehend. Regional aspirations and local flavours exist—and have existed—in their own rights, but not as ancillary to the amorphous main-stream at various times, which most of our histories seem to suggest. The various communities in India exist—and have existed—as separate entities in terms of similar thoughts and action, customs and habits, with an acute sense of belonging to a given territorial limit. (The concept of 'pardesi' illustrates it easily). Therefore, in the spectrum of Indian history and civilization the rainbow may be an end by itself for study, whereas the other colours may contribute something crucial in an understanding of the larger whole. It is possible that regional and local histories may lack textual evidence. But there is also present a great deal of evidence obtainable from regional ethnography, archæology, folk-lore, place names, etc. (i.e., the non-literary sources). It is from such detailed studies that national characteristics known and yet to be known will emerge clearly. This is not to suggest, however, that because there are different sub-cultures and societies in India, in terms of regional and local histories, that Indian civilization is an aggregate of regional and local histories. There is a totality to it, which we are seeking to grasp. But this is not only in the metaphysical and philosophical sense. The point is to find out just how, when, where and why during the various periods all these different institutional relationships had articulated with each other, to give what may be called a coherent Indian whole at any given period. If, however, we were to do this only in terms of philosophies and ideologies, then it would suffice to give the primary texts of all the various religions. But religion and philosophy are not the only threads of the mesh which help to make us empirically understand Indian civilization as a totality. For instance, in Indian art and architecture, or in the various religious and other philosophical texts, very able descriptions of the various conceptions of these traditions, and the canons of the right way of doing things has been given. But this focuses our attention only on the Great Traditions, not the variations or the Little and local traditions, or how caste rules were circumvented, or laws broken, or how Little Traditions had crept into the Great ones, or that in art local material and craftsmen had influenced the style of sculpture, or that the erotic sculptures represented only a minority view of things and may not always be seen as the union of spirit and matter, etc. Indians have been—and are—downright and earthly peoples, with interest in wine, fine clothes, violence, sex, jewellery, the owning of land and property. In fact, it seems to us much more likely that this need for the spirit and non-violence is a reaction to the millenia old material mindedness and earthliness, to our love for the variety of good food and clothes, the hoarding of gold, efficiency in trade, and the patricides, fratricides, the maiming and killing—specially the martyrdom of non-violent men that went on throughout our history. Thus, if Indian history and civilization is viewed in terms of the normal functioning of human societies and cultures, we might then be able to obtain a clearer and even a more 'objective' picture than has been possible until now.

Nevertheless, it is true that although India has always been changing, showing qualities of adaptability, yet we all know that there is a central unchanging 'spirit', theme, style or pattern which is characteristically Indian despite the multiplicity of changes. Therefore, what we should endeavour to present and investigate is this central theme (core-elements) by some process of empirical research. In other words, the aim of writing a Sourcebook of Indian

Civilization should be not merely to narrate historically, but to highlight, by some rational analytical means, the enduring nature of India. Hence, it is *not enough* if we illustrate our civilization by simply its *literati* tradition, or its essence. If so, then there is nothing much to do. What we have to do is to take into account the mundane aspects of a living society since what we seek is the 'totality' of a civilization like India and, hence, in this attempt we cannot stick either to literary sources or only to a single Ancient Period.

It is a well accepted fact that there is a continuity in time until now of our civilization, and this is one of its uniqueness compared to many other civilizations. Therefore, the later periods and even evidence of the last few centuries shall have to be explored if not for collating sources then for comparative purposes. It is thus that we shall be able to reconstruct a substantial part of early India. For this purpose, the use of comparative methodology, and the tools and techniques of anthropology and sociology, etc. will necessarily have to be employed, unless one aims simply to collate and produce an encyclopædic work with an inventory of source material. An encyclopædic Sourcebook on Indian Civilization may turn out to be no more than a useful reader, even if a large team of scholars, specialists in many ways, are utilized. Any book on Indian civilization will have an impact only if it is different in its attitudes and approaches.

In short, it is neither being suggested that we create a towering synthesis nor should our goals be as such. But our concern should be more with the points of the various institutional contacts and interrelationships by a shift of perspectives, rather than by mere historical narration. It may be legitimate to ask as to why it is necessary to carry their reinterpretation or to seek a reassessment. In the broadest terms, one could answer it by saying that fundamentally it is to be in line with the recent important changes which have taken place in the knowledge of the various disciplines, specially in some of the social and humanistic sciences. Moreover, what has been written by us or by outsiders, until very recently, will not suffice either in our basic education or research systems. In the second half of the 20*th* century we must give something meaningful to the dwindling students of humanities, something which measures up to our real experiences. In this manner we may, hopefully, help in weaning away students and the lay from chauvinistic and parochial thoughts.

II

Students of Indian history and culture have long felt the need of examining Indian civilization from a holistic viewpoint, as suggested above, which is based not only on researches into the original sources but a work which would also include these sources within it. There are indeed some works of this nature, such as a Sourcebook of philosophy and religion, or on some limited aspects of history. But there is hardly any comprehensive work on Indian civilization viewing it as a totality, specially one which is based on and incorporates within it the original sources. There are, of course, some works of a partial nature which have been edited by scholars of Western nations. But there seems to be little such work which has been edited by Asian scholars, giving an indigenous perspective to one's own civilization. This important lacunae in the study of Indian and other Asian civilizations has been felt by the research scholar, and it is also an imperative requirement of the graduate and post-graduate student. Taking these factors into account the Central Ministry of Education and Youth Services of India had prepared and provided for a scheme entitled "Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and Asian Civilization" during the IVth Five Year Plan. The execution of this scheme has been entrusted to the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

Considering the wide scope and the all-India importance of such a project, it was thought desirable by Prof. V. K. Gokak, Director of the Institute, as a first step, to invite eminent and experienced scholars in the various fields to discuss the problems of planning such a Sourcebook, prior to the actual implementation of the project. Accordingly, a workshop Seminar was organized in Simla for a week beginning from the 13th of September until the 19th of September 1970. The proceedings of this Seminar form the basis of the present volume.

The participants of the Seminar, at the outset, were given an outline of the basic aims of the Seminar, in the light of which they were expected to contribute, both in general terms as well from their special field of study, towards discussing the problems of planning a Sourcebook. In brief, the basic aims enumerated were something as follows:

(a) Laying down the chronological range to be covered by the project;

(b) deciding the geographical extent of the project;

(c) defining the perspective that ought to distinguish a Sourcebook from other published material and establishing the lines of interpretation of available material from this angle;

(d) reviewing the existing literature on the subject;

(e) identifying and evaluating the material that might have been available since the date of published material on the subject;

(f) identifying the concepts and methods to be followed in the preparation of a Sourcebook;

(g) drawing up a list of topics and the sources to be utilised for each topic;

(h) ascertaining the centres of learning in which material will be available in India and other Asian countries for a Sourcebook.

The general academic plan for discussion during the Seminar, as sent to the invitees, was divided into sections, as follows:

Section I: General

(i) The features and achievements that we have in mind when we think of the ancient civilization of a country.

(ii) Ancient Asian civilization *vis-a-vis* the civilization of Europe or Africa or South America.

(iii) Mutual impact of, and interaction among Asian countries.

(iv) The salient features of the ancient civilization of each Asian country.

Section II: The Chronological and Geographical Scope

(i) The chronological range of Ancient Indian and other Asian civilizations.

(ii) The geographical area. Should there be different volumes planned on the following regions?
  (a) South Asia, including India, Pakistan and Ceylon
  (b) China and Japan
  (c) South-East Asia
  (d) Central Asia
  (e) West Asia.

(iii) The range and area accepted in the existing literature on the subject.

Section III: The Methodology

(i) Defining the perspective that ought to distinguish a Sourcebook from other published material and similar books planned by scholars from abroad.

(ii) The plan to be followed in the presentation of material.

(iii) The topics to be included in the book, indicating the sources to be utilised for each topic. Some of these may be:
  (a) Ancient concepts of culture
  (b) polity
  (c) social conditions
  (d) economic conditions—industries, agriculture and crafts
  (e) arts
  (f) philosophy
  (g) religions
  (h) folk-cults
  (i) material remains
  (j) literature
  (k) dance, drama and music.

(iv) Should there be a general introduction giving an overall view of the material presented in addition to the specific introduction to the chapter on each topic? Should there also be a review, after each chapter, of the primary and secondary sources and of the literature on that topic? One may have illustrations reproducing significant architectural, sculptural, pictorial, numismatic and other material remains.

(v) How far can folk-lore be tapped for this purpose?

A detailed paper from every participant was not expected. But some specialised papers on certain general and specific topics which would then form the basis of further discussion were invited. As often happens at many seminars of this nature, due to various reasons, not all the specialists could attend the seminar and some who did attend had no time to prepare detailed papers, while others were able to jot down only some notes for discussion. Consequently, many topics were left untouched and there were no contributions on these. But there were some very helpful heated discussions on the fundamental problems which revolve around the problems of planning a Sourcebook of the nature and perspective envisaged. The main themes which emerged as a result of contributions of papers, short notes and discussions, may be classified as follows:

(i) General ideas and Perspectives.
(ii) Methodologies and Approaches.
(iii) The Problem of Geographical and Chronological limits.
(iv) Structure, Design and Contents.
(v) Some examples of the utilization of sources, such as from Sanskrit, Tamil and other literature, archæology, folk-lore, plastic arts, linguistics, art and sculpture, etc.
(vi) Sources for India from some other Asian countries like Nepal, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, West and Central Asia, etc.

It will be noticed that not all the topics, as outlined in the plan of the Seminar which was circulated, were discussed due to the non-availability of scholars as well as of material. For example, specific topics such as economic conditions, technology, abstract sciences and many others were not discussed. At any rate, at the end of some very thorough discussions, the participants prepared a more or less agreed Statement about the framework, as well as to the general aspects of planning a Sourcebook. This Statement has been incorporated in the Summary which is given at the end of this volume.

A complete record of the papers, notes and discussions has not been given in the editing of these proceedings. The papers have been organized topic-wise, as far as possible. This meant that some of the papers had to be split-up, perhaps an unpleasant but necessary task; while to maintain a uniform pattern, paragraphs had to be left out in many others giving only extracts.

Similarly, the discussions have been incorporated in the main body of the volume or as notes at the end of the relevant paper or topic, and have not been relegated serially at the end of the volume. Moreover, only the main points and issues arising out of these discussions have been briefly noted, without resorting to a verbatim record of trivial corrections and objections to specific points in the papers, unless these contributed to the essential issues involved. The names of the speakers, of who-said-what, has also thus been dropped. We hope that this departure from the previous procedure is received favourably.

The planning and organization of the Seminar was carried out by the Director of the Institute, Prof. V. K. Gokak, along with the help of a team of Fellows of the Institute which included Sri A. Ghosh, Dr. B. D. Chattopadhyaya and the editor, who is very grateful to Prof. Gokak for his guidance and help throughout the task of editing, and to all the contributors of this volume to whom the credit of this work truly belongs.

I am also obliged to Shri S. L. Chaudhry, Registrar, Shri J. L. Sardana, Librarian, for their help in many ways; but specially to Shri N. K. Maini of the Publication Section for his constant cooperation. The Naba Mudran Private Limited has been very meticulous in composing the proofs despite the disturbed situation in Calcutta and neighbouring areas. I am grateful to them for a job well-done under these trying and unusual circumstances. Finally, my thanks go to Zarine, my wife, for her help in double-checking the proofs.

Bombay,
February 13, 1971.

S. C. MALIK.

GENERAL

THE PERSPECTIVE

VINAYAK KRISHNA GOKAK*

Perspectives for a Sourcebook

DR. JULIAN HUXLEY in 1946, when he was the Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for UNESCO, while putting forward the idea of the now well-known UNESCO Publication, *History of Mankind* wrote: "The chief task before the Humanities today would seem to be to help in constructing a history of the development of the human mind, notably in its highest cultural achievements. For this task, the help of art critics and artists will be needed as well as of art historians; of anthropologists and students of comparative religion as well as of divines and theologians; of archæologists as well as of classical scholars; of poets and creative men of letters as well as of professors of literature; as well as the whole-hearted support of the historians." Our objectives are for a more modest purpose, for finalising plans for a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and other Asian Civilizations.

It may not be out of place, when we are thinking of planning a book on civilization, to bestow some thought on the word 'civilization' itself. Some scholars may feel that this is a controversy settled long ago and others that it is still possible to take sides on it. The anthropologists, who claim culture as their special field of study, are not themselves agreed on the connotation of the word. Anthropologists like Weber and McIver are inclined to make a distinction between culture and civilization, restricting civilization to science and technology and culture to philosophy, religion, and art. But Kroeber uses the word 'culture' as the customary term applicable alike to high or low products of societies. 'Civilization' he uses as the term for the larger and richer cultures, carrying an overtone of high development of a society.

The connotation that Kroeber gives to the word 'civilization' as 'the historically differentiated and variable mass of customary ways of functioning of human societies' seems to be acceptable to us because of its comprehensiveness. He analyses the components of culture at three levels: subsistence culture, social culture and value culture. He pleads that this classification is only a conceptual axis which facilitates understanding and is bound to be capricious if pushed too far. He himself posits Language as a fourth component, Morality and Law as a fifth and Fashion as a sixth. This is a good enough framework for analytical presentation. The Seminar has to consider which definition to adopt for the purposes of the Sourcebook.

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* This is the Welcome Address, with minor changes, delivered by Prof. V. K. Gokak at the inauguration of the Seminar—Editor.

Confining ourselves to a Sourcebook only of Ancient Indian Civilization for the moment, it would be desirable to review, in passing, a few typical books approaching our Sourcebook in their aim and scope. They may be taken up in pairs: *Sources of Indian Tradition* compiled by W. J. de Bary and others and published by the Columbia University Press, (1958) and Dr. V. Raghavan's *The Indian Heritage*, (1956); the *History of Mankind* published with financial assistance from the UNESCO (Vol. I. 1st ed., 1963) and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan publication called *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (1st Vol., 1st ed., 1956); and *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, by John Dowson, (1961, 10th edition) and Benjamin Walker's two-volume *Hindu World* published by Allen and Unwin, 1968.

The book called *Sources of Indian Tradition* published by the Columbia University Press was produced, as the editor himself says, "in connection with the Columbia College General Education Programme in Oriental Studies". It is a useful survey. But its uses are limited to the aims and ends of what is called 'General Education'. It is a 'survey' course planned for American undergraduates. It is one of those broad 'survey' courses current in American Universities, which we too have begun to copy, and in which, as in a fast driven car, the miles are lost because of the milestones. Ancient Indian Culture is, besides, only a part of its theme, for the Columbia book aims at presenting a survey of the whole of Indian civilization and raises many controversial issues in dealing with Medieval India and Pakistan. A few Indian scholars have contributed articles and translations of illustrative extracts to the volume. But they had to function within the framework laid down by the editors of the book.

The aim is to combine, 'variety with balance'. The editors have given attention to the political, economic and social thought of Ancient India, along with Classical Indian philosophy. They have divided the history of ancient Indian culture into three broad periods under the heads: Brahmanism; Jainism and Buddhism; and Hinduism. They have tried to compress the variety of their materials into this descriptive framework, under the plea that "in the body of literature that provides us our texts, religious identities and continuities are more clearly distinguishable than are those based upon historical chronology or dynastic associations". They have eschewed narration or the chronological framework almost altogether. The result is that we have a descriptive exposition of what Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism and

Hinduism are, aided by well-chosen extracts. But a total view of Ancient Indian Civilization gets blurred in the process, for the time-sequences receive but a rare mention. It may not also be fair to expect from a general education programme in oriental studies more than what the editors thought should go into it. Objections naturally arise when the book is sought to be used for purposes for which it was not designed.

Dr. Raghavan's *The Indian Heritage* is an excellent anthology of selections from Sanskrit literature supported by a scholarly introduction. The selections have been translated lucidly into English and they are sure to interest the Indian and non-Indian reader alike. In this anthology, Dr. Raghavan concentrates on those early phases of Sanskrit literature which were "responsible for the moulding of the concepts and values and for the formation of the attitudes and ideologies that are fundamental to Hindu Culture". The emphasis in this anthology is laid on value culture. Naturally, the other two divisions of culture figure in the anthology only in a general way.

We now come to the two histories. The *History of Mankind* was published by the International Commission (for a history of the scientific and cultural history of mankind) and prepared under the auspices and with financial assistance from UNESCO (Vol. I, 1st Ed., 1963). The first volume of this book takes up Indian civilization as one thread in a great web of ancient civilizations. It departs from the traditional approaches to the study of history which "attach decisive importance to political, economic and even military facts" by being deliberately practical—"confining itself to shedding light on one of mankind's many aspects, its cultural and scientific development". In spite of this limitation, it is, like all universal histories, a great synthesis which seeks to present to man "the total of his memories as a coherent whole", though in a restricted sphere. It adopts the same intellectual approach as other great universal histories—"that of the interpretative as opposed to the descriptive historian—reducing events to their significance in a universal frame of reference, explicit or implicit". The *History* describes with great care "the exchanges and influences which link the different foci of civilization across space or time".

The distinguishing features of the *History* are: (1) It adopts the approach of the interpretative as opposed to the descriptive historian, refusing to attach decisive importance to economic, political and even military factors as conventional historians tend to do. (2) It is deliberately partial in its approach, concentrating as it does on one of the many aspects of mankind, its cultural and scientific development. (3) Its method in presenting this development is analytical but with a view to an ultimate resynthesis.

Though the approach to each period is interpretative, the factor of time-sequences is present in dealing with human history as a whole, dividing it into suitable periods. The interpretations are thus subordinated to a chronological framework. The exposition under each one of these periods is further divided into sections each of which covers a single aspect of the development—economic, political, literary, etc.

This scheme, says Tuigi Pareti, the editor of the second volume, has "the advantage of making it easier to trace broad lines along which particular human activities evolved, both in time and in space". That is to say, the combination of chronological sequence with analytical interpretation by subordinating the latter to the former results in this advantage.

But, as Pareti himself confesses, it also results in a disadvantage. The interdependence of various activities is rendered less clear by adopting this scheme. The synthesis—the pattern—does not emerge as clearly as in a traditional history because of the analytical presentation of each topic.

At the same time, the analytical presentation of each topic cannot afford to be deep and detailed enough and comprehensive, because it is spread over various time-sequences. If the whole chain of causes and effects at large had to be set forth, the work, says Pareti, would have been a work of analysis and not of synthesis. It would have been disconnected, and full of repetition, Pareti justifies the scheme saying that the book "cannot go deeply into every topic and set out all the details, the specialist wants, without prejudicing the balance both of the work as a whole and of its separate parts". He requests specialist scholars to remember that the *History* is planned to be a book of synthesis and general information.

The net result of the scheme is that the analysis is not deep enough because the book is planned to be a book of synthesis and general information. The synthesis is not also clear enough because the analytical interpretation of each topic has to be presented in sections each of which covers a single aspect. The interdependence of the various aspects is therefore obscured. Since the book is meant to be one of synthesis and general information, Pareti ends up by making the plea: "Nevertheless, this defect can be remedied if the reader is patient and alert enough to compare one chapter with another, and to make proper use of the table of contents, the indexes, and the cross-references." There is also the opening chapter for each period, giving the historical background for that period. One may agree that the aims of the editors being what they were, no better measure of success could be expected. What they have, in fact, achieved, bespeaks a good standard of excellence.

The Bhavan *History and Culture of the Indian People* in six volumes is magnificiently planned and executed by a band of distinguished Indian scholars. This is unquestionably the first grand tribute to the flow and rhythm and the massive unity and variety of Ancient Indian civilization. The Indian point of view is projected on this subject in a sustained manner for the first time. The narration, the interpretation and the bibliographies serve their purpose well. Photographs of archæological sites and other material and aesthetic remains have been reproduced and many maps included. One feels satisfied, after perusing these volumes, that justice has very nearly been done to a great theme.

But what the *History* does not do is to give extracts from original literary sources except in a casual way. It does not do this because it is not part of its plan to do so.

There is another important point which we have to consider. Though the Bhavan book plans to give us an account of the history *as well as* the culture of the Indian people and accomplishes this task well, it does so with a difference. Kroeber remarks that the distinctive feature of the historical approach does not consist in dealing with time-sequences—though that inevitably crops out where historical impulses are genuine and strong—but in an endeavour at descriptive integration, preserving the phenomena intact as phenomena. The historian is one 'who knows how to fill the lacunae' and the Bhavan volume fulfills both these roles, those of descriptive interpretation and of historical reconstruction, wherever necessary. But the time-sequences naturally figure prominently in a history. The anthropological approach, on the other hand, whatever its ultimate resynthesis, is, as Kroeber says, essentially a procedure of analyses, of dissolving phenomena in order to convert them into process formulations. This kind of scientific activity is, to a great extent, supplanted here by narration.

Of the next pair of books, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* by John Dowson is modest in its aim and need not be subjected to any close scrutiny. The main portion of the work consists of mythology, religion, history, ancient geography and short descriptions of 'frequently mentioned Sanskrit books'. The work is entirely derived from the publications of European scholars and Dowson has not resorted to original Sanskrit authorities. All that the author has attempted to do is to "present a summary of the present condition of our knowledge of the religion and mythology of Ancient India".

Hindu World by Benjamin Walker (1968) is a more ambitious publication. It is an encyclopædic survey of Hinduism and, as the blurb says, it presents the vast pageant of India in all its teeming variety. There are useful bibliographies given at the end of the note on each topic. The author says that there has been a continuous check for clearness, and accuracy but that "discrepancies will necessarily remain as long as there is no unanimity about the facts". But the discrepancies remain even when there is unanimity as when, in the entry under *Linga,* the linga shrine Bhima-Sankara is said to be situated at Rajamundry, 30 miles from Poona, at the source of the river Bhima.

Being an encyclopædic reference book, there is no selectiveness in its design. Biographies of eminent Hindus jostle with entries like those on adultery and asceticism, anatomy and astronomy, *Bhakti* and *Karma.* Being an encyclopædic survey, the book confines itself to an enumeration of known facts under each topic and interpretation is rare, except when it comes from a European angle.

Fantastic puranic stories are recorded but without explanation of the elements of symbolism that were responsible for the fantasy and exaggeration. Thus, for example, under linga, it is recorded how Siva "wandering in the nude state mourning for his wife, was seen by the wives of certain sages who were aroused at the sight and desired to unite with him. The sages cursed the god's linga to fall off. As it touched the earth it grew to immense size like a great shining column. Brahma and Vishnu saw it when its top had reached upwards beyond the clouds and its lower end was buried deep in the earth. They decided to investigate. Taking the form of a boar, Vishnu dived into the depths of the primeval ocean to reach the base of the column and Brahma taking the form of a swan flew up to reach its top". It is clear that recording a legendary account of this kind, which makes no sense without an elucidation of its symbolic elements, cannot be taken to be an accurate picture of the Hindu world. Finally, as is bound to happen in a survey which is an encyclopædic reference-book, analysis dominates the scheme and what synthesis we have is there only in the title and in the blurb.

The synthesis in the Bhavan volume has a clear impact on the reader. There is a real effort in the *History of Mankind* to achieve as much of it as is possible under the scheme. There are at least some background surveys in the Columbia book and in Dr. Raghavan's *The Heritage of India.* We cannot expect this of a dictionary or encyclopædia. The trees are there for all to see. But the wood or forest exists there but in the title. Our Sourcebook will have to negotiate all these difficulties, and these have been stated elsewhere in this volume.

One more point about Ancient Indian civilization before we pass on to the Asian context. Did it really disintegrate or did it start reconstituting itself during its Medieval and Modern phases? In a lyrical and beautiful paragraph in his preface to Volume 1: *The Vedic Age,* Dr. R. C. Majumdar remarks: "This volume attempts a picture of what may be regarded as the dawn of Hindu civilization. To continue the metaphor, we may say that the next two volumes reflect its fully morning glory and noonday splendour; in the fourth volume we come across the shadows of the declining day, while dusk sets in with the fifth. Then follows the darkness of the long night, so far as Hindu civilization is concerned, a darkness which envelops it even now."

As Dr. Majumdar has shown in the same preface, it is possible to look at this phenomenon from another angle. "One may rightly question," he says, "the reasonableness of designating historical periods by the religious denomination of the ruling dynasties . . . . We have accordingly divided Indian history into three chronological periods—Ancient, Medieval and Modern."

Let us examine this question a little more closely. Ancient Indian civilization, which was Hindu, had itself a composite origin. The Dravidian and the Aryan, not to mention other races, contributed considerably to its evolution.

It was further developed by a people who professed not one, but at least three different faiths, not to mention other minor creeds. One of the three faiths—Vedic, Jain and Buddhist—prevailed over the other two during one or the other of its ancient phases in some parts of India or the other, looking at it from the point of view of the religious denomination of the ruling dynasties. A profound change ensued later in the cultural pattern of India, for more diverse races and faiths came in—the Turks, Afghans, Moghuls and Europeans, Islam and Christianity. Indo-Saracenic architecture, Sufism, Sikhism and several other cultural features sprang to life because of the Muslim impact. Indian civilization became more complex because many more diverse elements entered into its composition. In fact, one may fancy that, though the advent of other influences was a disastrous event for the synthesis that had already been achieved, there was a secret impulsion in the seed-bed of Indian civilization to be more and more composite with the passage of centuries. The disturbance of the ancient pattern might have led to a period of chaos during the Middle Ages. But it was a chaos which lived side by side with a new-forming cosmos.

The Medieval phase was about to achieve its own synthesis when other cultural elements—as widely different from the new medieval ones as from the ancient—came in, making a bid for a new complexity. The Western impact through the British kindled the intellect and imagination of Indians and vivified and enriched Indian civilization, making it more composite, and brought about a veritable renaissance. Modern Indian civilization is still forming itself, though the outline of the new integration is faintly visible even today. It was this emergent pattern that bewildered Lord Curzon, the hard-boiled imperialist, when he remarked: "There is no doubt that a sort of quasi-metaphysical ferment is going on in India, strangely conservative and even reactionary. The ancient philosophies are being exploited; and their modern scribes, and professors are increasing in number and fame. What is to come out of this strange amalgam with European ideas thrown as an outside ingredient into the crucible—who can say?"

The Medieval and Modern phases have to be viewed in this perspective if the continuity and significance of Indian civilization are to be assessed correctly. Ancient Indian civilization did not disintegrate. It was reconstituting itself and forming itself anew during its Medieval and Modern phases.

Finally, one or two points about Ancient Asian Civilization. It is generally felt that a Sourcebook of Ancient Asian Civilization is an extremely difficult, if not impossible, task because of the paucity of experts in this field in India. This is very true indeed. Our universities have not yet been able to set up departments of various Asian languages. Russian, German, French and Chinese are probably the main languages other than English taught in a few of our Universities. How can we find material for a Sourcebook of the kind we contemplate, if, in India, there are hardly any teachers and students of the languages spoken in most of the Asian countries?

But it should be possible to study at least the ancient cultural pattern in countries like Ceylon, Nepal, Burma and Cambodia, if not Indonesia and the Malaya peninsula. As for these and other Asian countries, the Seminar can at least recommend the preliminary steps that need to be taken in order to make such a study possible in the near future. A Sourcebook of Asian Civilization will take several years, considering our present handicaps. But we have to take steps towards such a consummation and, in the meanwhile, do the best we can towards achieving our goal.

But let us not hesitate to think of Ancient Asian Civilization as an important subject for our study. Knowledge knows no frontiers. A cultured citizen would like to make all knowledge his province. An Indian would like to see the whole of Asia and the world through the eyes of his own experts and interpreters. He would like to have his own encyclopædic Sourcebook of all knowledge. This is a legitimate cultural aspiration and one need not be apologetic about it.

There is another reason why one is led to think of an Asian Sourcebook. It is writ large over the pages of a book called *The Glass Curtain Between Asia and Europe,* edited by Dr. Raghavan Iyer (OUP. 1965). As Dr. Iyer points out, there has come to exist, during the last few centuries, "a distorting sense of distance, if not actually of alienation", between the two continents. It is, no doubt, true, as Mr. Wang Gungwu says in his essay in this book that "the cultures of the peoples of Asia are indeed heterogeneous and cannot be lumped together even in contrast with European culture . . . . There is no single way of thinking generally applicable even to the East Asians" (p. 254). But as Mr. Wang Gungwu himself points out, such concepts as "East Asia", "The East", or the "Orient" were set up in opposition to the "Occident". He goes on to point out that the nations of East Asia, which for long cherished the desire to preserve and develop their respective cultures, adopted the slogan "Asia is one" simply as a way of defending their respective cultures against the domination of the West.

There was some reason for this feeling too. Reincourt argued that the Ancient Asian cultures were to be viewed as those of terminated or arrested civilizations. Comte regarded Europe as the *avant garde* of humanity. In his volume, *History the Betrayer,* Mr. R. H. Dance has exposed the European parochialism and prejudice in the teaching of history and the treatment of non-Christian religions. Indeed, a prejudice in the mind of the West against the East has been traced back to Herodotus, the father of European history. Dr. Raghavan Iyer's *Glass Curtain* shows, if anything, that the curtain is a real one and a cultured person has to be on his guard against it all the time. It may be true, as Guenon and Coomaraswamy held, that there is no barrier between traditional cultures but only between the traditional East and the modern West. This need not obscure the relations between two parts of the world that had a common cultural heritage ranging from the days of the Eurasian hearth of civilizations thousands of years ago. The modern West may feel now and then that Asia is a mere borrower and that she is only copying the intellectual and technical achievements of Europe. This wrong historical perspective has to be set right. To quote Mr. Joseph Needham from the same book (p. 283): "To suppose that pure and applied science sprang fully formed from the body of the European Renaissance is entirely false; there had been a long preparation of centuries which had seen the absorption by all Europe of Arabic learning, Indian thought, and Chinese technology. The physico-mathematical hypotheses of Galileo can hardly be visualized without Indian numeral notation. The arsenal in which he set the scene of one of his world-changing dialogues could not have accomplished much without mastery of the characteristic Chinese technique of iron-casting." Knowledge is not the private property of any nation or continent. It always belongs to the world community. The Asian heritage needs to be presented in detail to the world today to bring all parts of the world closer together.

This mode of thinking also is as old as Herodotus. In fact Herodotus ridiculed the notion that any portion of mankind was one-eyed and distinct from the rest. He wondered why three different names—derived from the names of women—had been given to the earth which is but one. As Gandhiji also said, "The only lesson to be learnt is that the East and the West are no more than names. Human beings are the same everywhere. He who wants to, will conduct himself with decency. There is no people for whom the moral life is a special mission. Everything depends on the individual himself."

The *Glass Curtain,* therefore, can clearly be transcended. Let us then conclude with Mr. Geoffrey Hudson's eloquent exposition of this prospect:

> ". . . . the new generalized cosmopolitan culture of this age has at last put us at a new point of vantage for apprehension of all the great cultural systems of the past, since all these, including our own, have lost their exclusive hold, while the whole cultural heritage of humanity, of whatever civilization, is more available and accessible to the ordinary educated man, if he wishes to explore it, than it has ever been before. The arrogant cultural self-sufficiency of 19*th* century Europe, judging Eastern philosophy, literature and art by its own standards and conventions, is giving place, under conditions in which there is no longer any European world supremacy, to a much greater freedom of approach to all cultural phenomena, a more comprehensive and eclectic taste. In spite of the current excesses of political nationalism a genuine citizenship of the world has become more of a practical possibility in the cultural spheres than at any time in the past history of man."

Y. S. PARMAR*

The Need for an Indian Outlook

It is well-known that most of the material about Ancient Indian and other Asian civilizations produced so far has been by foreign authors, and to a very great extent the present-day scholars depend on these works. There is no doubt that Westerners undertook the immense task of sorting out facts from the ancient books of India and the other countries of Asia after a great deal of study of ancient languages. But their works can be improved upon and a new light thrown on ancient civilizations if the task is undertaken by Indian and other Asian scholars who are the products of the soil.

Outsiders have generally tried to write only on one or the other aspect of Ancient Indian life, while leaving other allied topics untouched. For example, Max Muller confined himself to the study of religious scriptures, specially the Vedas, while John Woodroffe dedicated himself to Tantric literature. Others like Jones concentrated on Gita alone. But civilization is not simply the study of religion, though the philosophy contained therein moulds human thinking and action thus affecting history. A "History of Civilization" cannot be studied in isolated compartments as it is the sum total of happenings and thinking.[1]

In recent years most of the works that have appeared on Ancient Indian and other Asian civilizations have not provided a fresh look on the subject. They lack originality and are mostly based on books written by foreigners. The original texts or Ancient manuscripts have not been studied exhaustively by these authors who have attempted only the collection and collation of facts from secondary sources. But there is immense material available in our culture, economy, folk-cults, rites, ancient scriptures and religious books such as Vedas, Tripitaka and Jain Sutras etc., which await a thorough scrutiny.[2] We are also proud possessors of the Rig Veda, the oldest book of the world. It

* This is based on the Inaugural Address delivered to the Seminar by Dr. Y. S. Parmar, Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh—Editor.

is not merely ritualistic and sacrifical in content and is different from the later literature of the Aryans. If a deep study of the Rig Veda, which is a true representative of Aryan civilization, is undertaken with a free mind and efforts are made to sort out the changing meaning of 'Varuna', 'Indra' or 'Agni' in different hymns, as times changed, this may tell us about the progress of history and civilization of the early Aryans. Similarly, the Puranas, which preserve the historical tradition, can reveal to us some chronological aspects of history.

A study of the pre-Aryan period, the rituals and beliefs prevalent then, besides the material remains of those times, can be valuable guides for writing about Ancient Indian civilization. New knowledge about Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa civilization has vastly changed our outlook on Ancient Indian history. Mohenjo-Daro script is in the process of being deciphered and the key to some letters have already been found. All this will add immensely to our knowledge of the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan world of India. The pre-Aryan and Aryan cultures have indistinguishably intermingled to produce the peculiarities of India. It is in this manner that the Aryans of India became different from the 'Aryans' of Europe since they were absorbed and assimilated in this country.

Several Western scholars have tried to study and interpret the history and civilization of the Orient and their pioneering efforts are praiseworthy, but their outlook naturally has been foreign. The need of our times is to study and interpret Ancient Indian and the other Asian civilizations through the 'oriental mind' so that proper indigenous evaluations become possible. There is another reason for it. Recent thinking and research has now cleared the way for a new view of civilization, which was not possible a few decades ago. Civilization is no longer contrasted with 'rusticity' or 'savagery'. There is no doubt that the physical system of man is hereditary and is transmitted no matter how much or how little a man is civilized. But, on the other hand, civilization—which includes language, religion, beliefs, morals, arts and manifestations of the human mind and reason, etc.—cannot be handed down as biological traits. These traits can only be transmitted to a new generation by imitation or through instructions. Hence, all mankind today has a double heritage, one secure and the other precarious. It seems now imperative that all civilization or "the total social and traditional heritage" might fritter away completely, should forgetfulness or oblivion overtake society. It is, therefore, essential that a study in depth is made of our ancient civilization and is presented through a Sourcebook, prepared by indigenous minds, for the benefit of future students and scholars.

Obviously, the production of a Sourcebook would involve full knowledge of such ancient languages as Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, etc., as also of some of the modern languages or even dialects which are based on the languages of the pre-Aryan, Aryan and post-Aryan periods. Besides, all the modern Indian languages and dialects have their roots in languages of Ancient India and these are our common heritage irrespective of the area of the country in which they are now spoken.

Furthermore, an attempt should be made to correlate the various aspects of human endeavour in Ancient India which has so far not been attempted. The need is to correlate facts as sorted out from ancient philosophy, religion, literature, folk-cults, social and economic conditions, material remains, crafts, agriculture and industries, so that a composite picture of Ancient Indian civilization is placed before the world. We are inheritors of a great civilization, which had fascinated the ancient world. Scholars and truth-seekers of other countries braved great dangers to come to India to drink deep at our fountains of knowledge.

The study of history is not simply a restoration of the past but it is also its proper evaluation. The challenges and responses of minkind to times are as much a part of civilization as its religion and philosophy. For example, the most effective way for preparing a Sourcebook would be to collect and classify information available about philosophy, religion, observances, social conditions and economy in Ancient Hindu, Buddhist and Jain literature under various topics. It will be a colossal task to sift material as hundreds of gods, deities, beliefs, and ways of social and economic living would be involved. The Srutis and Smritis of Hindus, the Pali-Buddhist literature as also the Aradh-Maghdhi jain literature would have to be analysed for preparing a Sourcebook. Moreover, India was not isolated from Asia in the ancient days. In fact, there is a common cultural heritage throughout the countries of Asia. India's civilization was carried to the various countries of Asia through its missionaries. Even prior to Buddhism, the civilizations of West Asia, India and the Far-East had interacted with each other. A Sourcebook would thus play a very valuable role in reuniting the various broken threads of history, which have snapped due to foregetfulness, born of the misinterpretations of our ancient past.

NOTES

1. In general terms, civilization is related to material equipment for living, but I am sure the scope of the project will not be restricted to this general meaning of civilization. I feel that civilization extends its scope to every aspect of human activity viz. culture, polity, philosophy, religion, social and economic conditions, literature, folk arts and cults, dance and drama, etc.

2. Here, I must confess that I have not studied much about Ancient Asian Civilizations though I have read some literature on Ancient Indian Civilization. Sociology has been one of my subjects, and while preparing a thesis on "Social and Economic Background of Himalayan Polyandry" I had to study vast materials on folk literature, anthropology, tribal customs, rituals and religious observances, which threw new light on the culture of the hill people.

R. C. MAJUMDAR*

Plans for a Sourcebook : Some Thoughts

IN discussing plans of a projected Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and other Asian Civilizations our preliminary task is to examine such a plan. For this purpose, first, the qualifying phrase, 'ancient', needs to be defined, i.e. the very rough chronological period. The term 'ancient' means different chronological periods, when applied to different civilizations or countries, and sometimes opinions differ about its connotation even as regards the same country. For example, though Ancient India generally refers to the period ending in the Muslim conquest, about A.D. 1200, some would put its lower limit about three or four hundred years earlier, though there is no unanimity among them about the exact terminal date. There seem to be no valid ground on which to change this general view and we should accept it for our present purpose.

The definition of Ancient Asia presents more difficulty, for there is no general view, not to speak of a consensus of opinion among scholars, on this point. The *History of Mankind*, published by UNESCO, is divided into six volumes. The first of these traces the history from the very beginning up to 1200 B.C., and is divided into two parts called, respectively, 'Prehistory' and the 'Beginnings of Civilizaton'. The second volume, called 'The Ancient World' covers the period from 1200 B.C. to A.D. 500. No such label is attached to the subsequent four volumes, since the scope of each of which is defined by specific dates. The third and the fourth volume conclude, respectively, at the end of the twelfth century A.D. and A.D. 1775, while the last two volumes deal, respectively, with the nineteenth and the twentieth century. It would be natural to conclude from this that in the view of the International Commission of experts, which is responsible for this series, the term 'Ancient' does not cover the period beyond A.D. 500. Whether it goes back to the period before 1200 B.C. is not quite clear.

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* This is based on Prof. Majumdar's Address to the Seminar, as the Chairman of the Inaugural Session—Editor.

Thus, in the light of the above, and such other considerations as may appear relevant, we must discuss this question as a preliminary point and try to define, at least approximately, the chronological limits of a proposed Sourcebook. But this question cannot be finally decided without defining the scope of the Sourcebook from the geographical point of view.

The important civilizations that flourished in different parts of Asia before A.D. 500 would naturally cover those in Ancient Mesopotamia (Sumer, Akkad, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria etc.), Iran, Eastern Mediterranean Coast, Crete, India and China. If we extend the date up to A.D. 1200 we shall have to add to this list Arabia, Tibet, Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia, in addition to other minor civilizations which had flourished here and there. It is a stupendous task to deal with the histories of all of these civilizations "on the basis of original sources". Apart from this inherent difficulty we, in India, have to work under a great handicap.[1]

It is a patent fact that the number of scholars in India who have studied the history of Asian civilization other than 'Hindu' (taking the term in the wide sense of all civilizations originating in India) and 'Islamic', on the basis of original sources, may be counted on one's finger-tips. Hence, it would be extremely unwise to undertake an ambitious literary enterprise, involving huge expenditure from the public exchequer, where India has to rely almost entirely on the help of outsiders. Besides, our libraries are also ill-equipped in respect of books and journals. Therefore, it would be wiser, to restrict a project like this, at least for the present, to the study of 'Hindu' and 'Islamic' civilizations and their spread in Asia with special reference to the points of contact and exercise of mutual influence in regard to other ancient civilizations. This would involve, of course, a detailed study on the basis of original sources of other Asian civilizations. In this context, we will have to make sure that some selected number of scholars are acquainted with a good working knowledge of French, Dutch and German. Most of the learned works of the European scholars, which are based on a first-hand knowledge of the original sources, are in the shape of books and articles in Journals which appear in these languages. It will also be necessary to see that some of these Indian scholars are trained in the different Asiatic languages, depending upon the civilizations we finally select for our study.

The geographical and chronological points, raised above, in brief, are only indications of the problems which we face in drawing up a definite programme about a Sourcebook. But the one fundamental principle that should guide us in carrying out our project is that, while availing ourselves of the aid of competent non-Indian scholars, we must see to it that the main burden and responsibility should be borne by Indian scholars. If this is not feasible we should rather give up the project, for the present at any rate. India must not repeat the policy of industrial regeneration by undertaking bold and ambitious literary projects for which adequate knowledge, experience or trained personnel are not available in India and she would have to rely almost entirely upon foreign help and guidance.

The above discussion leads us to another important problem for our consideration, namely, the "reconstruction of history". Any reconstruction of the history of civilizations may take various forms. To illustrate, the two radically different forms are, one, *The History of Mankind,* published by UNESCO and, second, the series published by the Columbia University Press under the title *Introduction to Oriental Civilizations.*

The first of these is a brief but critical account of the development of human civilization in all its essential aspects in different parts of the world. It is written in the form of a continuous narrative, tracing the growth of civilizations from age to age. Although it is based on original sources, the running text is not interspersed with frequent quotations from them as is the case with the latter. The important points of difference are discussed in notes at the end of the chapter. There are copious footnotes referring to authorities, and a good select bibliography is given at the end.

The second, Columbia Series, proceeds on quite a different plan. Each important civilization is discussed in a separate volume the nature of which is indicated by the title "Sources of Traditions". There are thus separate volumes entitled "Sources of Indian Tradition", "Sources of Chinese Tradition", "Sources of Japanese Tradition" etc. etc. These volumes deal with only broad-heads of civilization in separate parts, each of which is further subdivided into chapters devoted to special or important aspects of each, laying main stress on religion and society. As mentioned above, the characteristic feature of these volumes is the array of profuse quotations mainly from original sources, but sometimes also from modern works, by way of illustrating the general views propounded by the author.

These two different modes of reconstructing the history of Ancient Asian Civilizations would perhaps require different types of organization, and may form the basis of discussion on the procedure to be finally adopted for a projected Sourcebook.[2]

NOTES

1. To explain this I may repeat what I had said more than three years ago in the Annual Address as President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, since it has a great bearing on the issue under consideration.

"No provision has been made anywhere in India, during the two decades of her independence, for research in the history and civilization of Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and China, which, apart from its intrinsic academic value, has got an important bearing upon the history and culture of Ancient India. For studies on these subjects we are entirely dependent upon Western scholars, though huge amounts, out of public funds, are being annually spent in India for the promotion of advanced study and research."

2. I would like to make a suggestion on the basis of my long experience as a member of the Bureau of the International Commission entrusted by UNESCO with the preparation of the *History of Mankind.* Shortly after the work was started, a necessity was felt of publishing a Journal, mainly to serve the following purposes:

(a) Various controversial issues arose on important topics and the views were sometimes embittered by regional or national sentiments, not to put it more bluntly. A Journal, it was thought, would form an appropriate forum for preliminary discussions from different points of view and this would be helpful to the authors who had to deal with the topic and prepare the final draft.

(b) Sometimes individual authors felt that the available published materials were not sufficient for the treatment of some topics and distinguished scholars were invited to discuss them in the Journal. So, the "Quarterly Journal of World History" was published, and it was found to be very useful.

(c) Another useful practice adopted was to circulate the draft, before publication, to the members of the Bureau. I would, therefore, suggest that the question of adopting the two practices, namely, the publication of a Journal and the circulation of the draft of chapters before publication, be borne in mind.

V. RAGHAVAN

On a Sourcebook by Indians

THERE is, obviously, a great need to produce our own history and a Sourcebook of Indian Civilization. One of the reasons why we have gathered here is to evaluate this aim, i.e. this need for Indians or other Asians to write about their own past. A few thoughts on this problem are noted here.

In the context of certain trans-Indian aspects of our culture and civilization and specially with regard to the whole field of Asian civilizations, there are hardly any of our own scholars available for this purpose. It is specially in such fields, thanks to the unfortunate nature in which our Indological scholarship has grown, that we have had to depend on the work of foreign scholars even so long after Independence. We have hundreds of editors of Sanskrit texts or historical inscriptions, and students of *Alamkara* and *Vedanta* and monuments of historical times, etc. But there are hardly any of our own experts in Tibetan, Chinese, Kotanese or Hittite, or on such important areas as South-East Asia. If it is our scholars who have been lacking in enterprise and in developing initiative, then our administrative authorities have been equally neglectful of the need to depute Indian scholars to the countries concerned in order to gain firsthand knowledge. If this had been done it would have helped to build up in this country collections of literary and monumental material from those extra-Indian Asiatic areas.

Sourcebooks for some particular branches of knowledge such as Indian philosophy, or for some particular areas such as India and China, have been prepared by American Universities. For example, in philosophy, there is the large volume brought out from Honolulu-Princeton by Radhakrishnan and Moore; whereas, with reference to the spiritual-religious aspects, this author had brought out a volume entitled *The Indian Heritage,* sponsored by the UNESCO. In the context of specific areas, we have the volume on *Sources of Indian Tradition* (Columbia University) in which some Indian scholars, including the author, had participated. In this, the emphasis was to give an account mainly of the Indian concepts and ideas. This was considered to be sufficient because as intellectual concepts mould behaviour and activity, an account of these and their significance was considered to be enough. But such an approach remained at the level of textual studies only. It, therefore, required to be supplemented by contextual studies, i.e. pages from actual life as lived by the people at different levels which may be evidenced in poetry, prose and drama, as well as sources that are considered to be secondary from the literary viewpoint but which are really primary from the historical point of view, namely, inscriptions and the like. Although the present author had subscribed to this dual method, and had even compiled material of contextual character, this was not eventually included in that volume.

Students of *Dharma Sastra* may have noted that one of the criticisms which some Western Orientalists have often made is that because Indian texts depict ideal conditions, they do not represent things as they had existed in actual life. The late Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar tried to answer this criticism in one of his lectures on *Dharma Sastra.* Another way of effectively disproving such an assumption by the critics would be to present the material not only as it is depicted in the theoretical texts but also from what may be found in different contexts in the 'practical writings'. For example, we may give such descriptions as: (i) of how Brahmans lived in an *Agrahara* from Bana; (ii) of how the various kings had ruled and administered; (iii) of how gifts and endowments were made; (iv) of how the popular elected committees based in the temples functioned for local self-administration; (v) of how commercial guilds and corporations were organised and moved about the country or across the seas for trade and commerce; (vi) of how an enquiry commission was appointed and verdict given on disputed social questions as in Mallintha's *Vaisya-vamsa-sudharnava;*[1] (vii) of how a poet, connoisseur, housewife, trader, etc. lived; (viii) of how domestic happenings and folk-beliefs and customs clustered around confinement, child birth, marriage etc.; and (ix) of how inland travel and sea-voyages took place as in Dhanapala's *Tilakamanjari* and in stories in the *Kathasaritsagara,* etc. A volume of this type to go side by side with the tracing of the evolution of ideas and concepts also has been compiled by the author.

Hence, what the concepts and materials of a culture mean to its own participants in whose hands they have, through the centuries, through further realisations, received further refinement, depth and glow, is more important than what one external to it, not able to have any insight into it, thinks of it. A culture integrates itself over a period, absorbing the value-part of gross historical and anthropological material. *But a mere historical analysis of all this will really make it become a technique of disintegrating it, and making it a mere antiquarian pursuit, instead of it becoming a living force.* This writer has shown in his account of *Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies in Europe,* that each European nation has developed Indian and Oriental Studies based on its own background, even though there are large areas of a common ground. But, in India, although it is primarily involved as the subject of this study, its scholars have more or less been content to function at the derivative and imitative levels.

It is well known that the modern historical and critical study of our past stemmed out of the Western Orientalist's study and was fostered under British education and administration. Naturally, features of the Western Orientalist's approach have moulded our thoughts about our own classics, institutions etc. The Western Orientalist who came to learn Sanskrit was already a Classic scholar, steeped in the Hellenic heritage. Therefore, according to the bent of the mind which proceeds from the known to the unknown, he was prone to recognise the ideas and concepts present in Sanskrit literature in terms of Greek and, therefore, diffusion was the immediate suggestion.[2] But the question of diffusion can neither be denied nor can it be adopted wholesale because it is always a two-way traffic. This problem has been admirably surveyed in H. G. Rawlinson's *Intercourse between India and the Western World* and Radhakrishnan's *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*. Nevertheless, when the missionary turns into the historian, he is bound to compare things Indian adversely, with reference to his own faith. For instance, he laments the absence of true theism in Hinduism or that Sankara's system can have no place for God and devotion, or he can see nothing more than the phallus in the Linga. Therefore, it is this mental obsession and limitation which prevents his proper perception, a limitation which continues to affect the writings of even eminent writers like Schweitzer. In other words, when comparing concepts of one culture with those of another, and in an evaluation of the former, it would be proper if corresponding stages in the evolution of the two cultures are also taken into account. To take an example from poetics, the *Riti* of Dandin should not be compared with the concept of Style as in Pater or Raleigh but with what Longinus said on the subject. Ancient Indian scientific ideas should be evaluated from the point of view of the conditions of scientific knowledge at corresponding periods in the West and not unfavourably with the latest Western discoveries. However, even well-versed students of Sanskrit and those known for balanced judgments tend to make sweeping pronouncements. A notorious example of this is Keith's statement that Kalidasa's works have no philosophy. This indicates that even a scholar of good standing, apart from missing the meaning of Kalidasa, failed to keep a proper perspective of the philosophical background against which Kalidasa wrote. Again, there is the question of the absence in Indian literature of tragedy, in the Greek and Western sense. But a proper understanding of this problem involves our understanding of Indian philosophy and the basic attitudes born out of it.

Thus, as the guide-lines for a Sourcebook, this note suggests a great need to delineate our image in its proper contours and graces, so as to bring out in full the depth and richness of our spirit and intentions. But, in the name of a native approach, let us remember not to become too patriotic or land ourselves in obscurantism. If we can avoid this pitfall, we may be able to emphasize the real significance which things Indian have had for us, and which have not only sustained us but have also helped us to retain the fundamental values of our culture and civilization to this day.

True, we have had the series of volumes of the *History of Indian People* brought out by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; the other series started earlier by the Indian History Congress has long been under preparation, only one volume from 325 B.C. to 300 A.D. having come out. But from our point of view—of culture and civilization—the crux of the matter is Vol. I, the pre-Nanda-Maurya volume, and the pre-epigraphic pre-monumental age which is dependent on literary sources. In this, the creative (formative) age, the *Veda* and *Upanishad,* the *Itihasa* and *Purana* and *Dharma,* and the *Sutra* and *Sastra* had determined the physiognomy and attitudes of our culture and civilization. Let us hope that we shall be able to offer something worthy of our heritage, with an effort which is based on a plan infused by fresh perspectives.

NOTES

1. See my account of this in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Poona, Vol. II, 1939. pp. 442-48.
2. It is gratifying to read a well known French Indologist of today writing—(J. Filliozat *J & R XXV*, p. 8) that "Questions of Antiquity and priority are far from being as important as questions of value and efficiency".
3. See also Will Durant's *Our Oriental Heritage*, and *The Legacy of India* to which both Durant & Filliozat have contributed.

D. N. SHASTRI

Indian Scholars Only ?

THE plan of preparing a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and Asian Civilization is highly commendable in the context of the prevalent desire that instead of blindly accepting the results of studies which began towards the close of the eighteenth century, we should look afresh to the contents of Ancient Indian or Asian cultures in order to understand them deeply. But it is a patent fact that barring a few exceptions, most of the works that have appeared in recent years are based not on the study of original texts but on the works of the pioneer writers, and in some cases they are mere repetition of those works. But one cannot agree with a common general view that "whatever publications there are in this field have been edited so far by the scholars from abroad, and that there should be certain features of this Ancient civilization which only Indian and other Asian scholars may be able to elucidate from an inside knowledge of the subject". It can hardly be maintained, this erroneous notion, that inside knowledge of the subject is likely to be possessed by Indians and not by foreign scholars. *The actual position is just the opposite.* There is hardly any foreign scholar of eminence who might have treated Ancient Indian civilization without an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit, but there are many Indian scholars who, without having ever studied Sanskrit, have produced large treatises on Ancient India. In fact, there should be no distinction of foreign and indigenous scholars. The real problem is of painstakingly examining the original texts, and not merely on the works of other writers in the field. We must remember our purpose. It is to plan a Sourcebook that may guide the future study of Indian culture and civilization, one which is based on the original texts related to the subject.

DATTATRAYA RAMCHANDRA BENDRE

A Literary Focus

APART from dictionaries of Ancient Indian geography, there are four or five recent books which will be worthwhile to read and ponder over. The history of Ancient Indian civilization is embedded in its people—who have made history.[1]

India has been the meeting centre for the cultural unity of human beings from the four corners of the world. The various 'races' of man met and mingled long, long ago in India—and that is how India has been a land of *janas,* of castes (*varna*) or *Gotras,* or *Kulas* and *Vanshas.* It is the *lokayat* in India who compelled the advent of Mahaveera, the Buddha, Rama and Krishna.

There are scholars who would not expect the *Puranas* to yield political geography (*Permanent History of Bharat-Warsha,* by Iyengar) and perhaps there would be a pandit who may not like culture to be deduced from geographical data. We must know that there was a school of *Aithihasakas* even for Vedic interpretation. But *Vedas, Puranas* and *Itihasas* should go together to give some life-sustaining sense.

NOTES

1. (1) *The Geography of Rigvedic India,* Bhargava.
   (2) *Tribes in Ancient India,* B. C. Law.
   (3) *The Geography of the Puranas,* S. Muzafer Ali.
   (4) *Vedic Bangmaika Itihas* (1st part), Bhagawad Datta.
   (5) *Development of Geographic Knowledge in Ancient India,* Maha Maya Prasad Tripathy.

DIFFICULTIES

D. C. SIRCAR

Sourcebook : General Difficulties

THE idea of compiling a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and Asian Civilization is commendable because it will be of great help to people who may get from it enough general knowledge of the subjects concerned without specialising in them. The nature of the work and the size of the volumes would of course depend on the type of readers for whom this Sourcebook is intended; that is to say, whether the work is intended for school or college students, or for advanced or post-graduate students, or for specialists. It is better to make it suitable, in our opinion, for the second category, so that it may be of some use even to the first and third (at least for sections outside the field of their specialisation) classes of readers. As we see it, a Sourcebook should bring the specialist's knowledge for its utilisation by the non-specialist. A work of this nature on the civilization of a country can only be attempted by a number of experts, because no single man is expected to possess specialised knowledge of the many aspects of a country's civilization. At the same time, it has to be seen that the sections contributed by different specialists do not suffer from a lack of adjustment and co-ordination.

A civilization embraces all the aspects of human activities and thoughts, so that the various items of information regarding material culture, advancement made in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, and religious and philosophical ideas should be dealt with in a Sourcebook. However, achievements of the people in the above fields will have to be discussed against a background of the political history of the country even though the latter may be summarily treated. This is necessary for the purpose of providing a chronological framework to a story of the progress of civilization because, in the case of Ancient India at least, chronology is beset with a large number of knotty problems. So far as Ancient India is concerned, we can probably regard the period to be covered by it to begin from the earliest times down to c. 1200 A.D. for North India and c. 1300 A.D. for South India, the said two dates being roughly associated with the Turkish Muslim conquest respectively of the Northern and Southern regions of our country.

The model for our Sourcebook may be *The Historians' History of the World* (edited by H. S. Williams). It was written with the collaboration of a large number of experts of different nationalities from the various European universities, and published in 25 volumes by *The Times,* London, 1907, and the following years. In most of the chapters of the said series, distinguished specialists had summarised the accumulated results of researches in a particular field of study, while some chapters are not so original but exhibit similar utilization of expert knowledge in criticising, amending, polishing and perfecting the material to be presented. There were two ruling motives underlying the publication, viz., (1) the hope of attaining a high standard of historical accuracy, and (2) the desire to retain as much of human interest as possible. It is a truism to state that the desire to be free from prejudices in the evaluation of evidence should be the key-note of our approach to historical criticism, while the desire to maintain human interest should be the key-note of our philosophy of historical composition. The sponsors of the said series tried, as far as possible, to remain free from race prejudice, national prejudice and the tendency to blacken or whiten historical characters on account of personal bias. They also tried to avoid special pleading for or against particular systems of government, racial propensity of any kind, or any individual act.

It may be noticed, that even with the help of the greatest experts from the different well-equipped European universities, it was not possible to do full justice to all the topics discussed in the series. Thus, the treatment of the various subjects suffers from a little lack of balance, e.g., the history of Greece covers 1289 pages while that of Ancient India and of Ancient, Medieval and Modern China respectively 91 and 55 pages only. Nevertheless, if the present downward trend of Indological scholarship in Europe—and in India—is any indication, it may be difficult today to publish a series of the same high standard.

In an examination of the ancient history of most countries there are always many controversial issues involved. Therefore, in the cases of a difference of opinion, reliance is generally not put upon the view of a single historian, but counter-views are also quoted. But in some cases of historical writings by Indian scholars, there may be seen a preponderance of palpably absurd views to which it is difficult to assign any importance in a serious work. For instance, take the case of the inscribed iron pillar at Mehrauli, near Delhi. The characters of the inscription on the pillar, which speaks of the death of a king named Chandra, bear the closest resemblance to those of the Bilsad pillar inscription (415-16 A.D.) of the time of Kumaragupta I Mahendraditya (413-55 A.D.). But, in spite of this clear evidence, we have theories which identify the said Chandra with Chandragupta Maurya (c. 324-300 B.C.), the

Kushana king Kanishka I (78-102 A.D. or middle of the 2nd century A.D.), the Naga king Chandramsa (3rd century A.D.) and others! Thus, it is advisable to avoid a discussion of such views which are so clearly against available evidence, in any proposed Sourcebook.

Finally, in the actual implementation of our project, we will have to make sure whether, (a) it is to be carried out under the guidance of the experts or, (b) whether the experts will be requested to contribute on the various topics and their writings will be edited and made ready for the press in the unit concerned. The author of these lines has some experience of both the above types of work, viz., getting volumes prepared through a number of research assistants and editing volumes consisting of the writings of different contributors of the advanced category. Briefly, we may elaborate on these two problems below.

(a) The defect of the first system is mainly that the notes submitted by the research scholars available today are in some cases incomplete or erroneous, generally because of an insufficient knowledge of English and Sanskrit. Such practical difficulties are being faced by most of the recently undertaken projects. Some of these, which had continued for many years, were finally abandoned.

(b) The defects of the second system, on the other hand are, (i) the number of suitable scholars for contributing on the various topics are limited, (ii) often sections allotted to experts are not received in time or not received at all, and (iii) in a few cases, the writings are unsuitable for publication. An interesting account of the preparation of a volume with the help of experts, involving the various kind of difficulties to be faced, is found in the preface to the *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar (published by the University of Dacca, 1943).

In any case, comparing the two systems it appears that the second is better than the first. Thus, for the success of the project, care must be taken to see that the selection of experts depends primarily on their sincere dedication to scholarship, and if we keep in our mind the difficulties indicated above, and work sincerely to the best of our ability, any Sourcebook project will be a success.

K. A. NILAKANTA SHASTRI

Problems Related to South India

THE plan is to prepare a Sourcebook of Indian and Asian Civilization. The terms civilization and culture are defined in different ways. The term civilization generally relates to the material equipment of a life of comfort. It also may be considered to consist of the essential products of human activity which have contributed to our scientific and material comforts and development, and is more a concern with the history of the human achievements on the higher intellectual plane. Hence, the object should be to bring out a comprehensive Sourcebook on these aspects of human endeavour and achievements.

There is, no doubt, a great need to bring out a comprehensive Sourcebook on Ancient Indian and other Asian Civilizations because there is a genuine difficulty of laying one's hands on the necessary source material. But unless all the basic sources are available to scholars, it may not be possible to reconstruct the full and comprehensive history of India or any other country. Further, the source material relating to various aspects of the history of India are in different languages, and hence it cannot be handled by scholars who are not familiar with them. (Mention in this connection may be made of my two books *Historical Method Relating to Problems of S. Indian History* and *Sources of Indian History* which have some bearing on the subject of the Seminar). Therefore, what is really needed is a judicious collection of such source material from each area by a competent scholar and the publication of the same in a series of volumes.

So far as South India is concerned, the present author had long ago collected the notices of the area contained in the notes and writings of the foreigners who visited the country and the same was published by the University of Madras in 1940 under the title *Foreign Notices of South India.* Likewise, some of the source materials for the history of the Vijayanagar Empire, the last great Hindu empire of South India, were collected by the late S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and later by N. Venkataramanayya (along with myself, published by the University of Madras, in 1924 and 1947 respectively). Such collections bearing on the history and culture of every region will be useful to advanced students and research workers. For such collections the text of the material may be given in the language in which it is found along with its translation in English.

The extracts from the original sources must be made on separate slips under different heads and arranged alphabetically and if possible chronologically. References must be given in the extract to the original work (manuscript or published ones) with page references, etc. Such extracts which are to incorporate archæological and epigraphical material must also be for every geographical division of the country, which may not have much to do with modern administrative divisions.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

South Indian Sources : Difficulties

THE spirit of historical tradition and historical writing is as yet new in our country. For the two thousand years and more of the known history of South India[1], the quantum of good historical works is comparatively very little. Until recent times much attention was paid to the writing of the political and dynastic history of the area to the neglect of the other aspects of its history; and it is only in recent years that the truth of the observation of Carlyle's—"far away from the senate houses, battle-fields, kings' ante-chambers, the mighty tide of thought and action was still rolling on its wonderous course"—is coming to be understood and realized. The interest of the present-day historian now centers round the people, their customs and manners, their thoughts and actions, their attitude to men and things and their progress in the social, religious, economic and political fields.

But to write such a history is not so easy. A historian of South India, as of any other part of the country, suffers under certain handicaps. For one thing, the historian's state of mind in dealing with the material he gets for writing such a history plays a considerable role in his understanding and interpretation of the evidence. What is required is the ability of the historian to understand his evidence in the proper perspective of the contemporary world. Although it may not be very easy to avoid subjectivity in historical writing, yet the historian has to be very careful in not divorcing his source from their contexts. But he continues to face the problem of a lack of sufficient readily available evidence which may help him to arrive at some definite objective conclusions. Thus, much work remains to be done for collecting all possible evidence.

Evidence regarding the civilizations of South India is broadly divisible into two categories, literary and archæological. Literature is always a snare for a historian and particularly so in India. It is a fact to be recognized that there are no professedly historical works in South India either contemporary or of a later period, though some historical material may be found in many literary works produced in the country. The lack of definite historical literature is a great handicap because one has to sift and select useful materials from many literary works. What is required therefore is a collection of relevant source mateial from literary works and its arrangement in chronological and subject-wise sequence for historical studies. Some other difficulties are enumerated below:

(i) South India, which had contacts with the outside world both in the East and West, from very early times was visited by foreigners for different purposes and they have left behind accounts of what they saw and heard in the country[2]. For example, the geographical and travel accounts of Ptolemy, the account in the Periplus, as also the historical and geographical writings of Livy, Pliny, and others of the Roman Imperial Age supply valuable information on trade, on the situation of marts, etc. Fa Hien, Hiuen Tsang and other Chinese travellers who had some vague peeps into our lands have left some useful notes on what they observed and heard. But only in so far as these writings get local confirmation that they are useful. In the Medieval period, Marco Polo was followed by a regular line of European travellers, especially during the Vijayanagar Empire. His testimony is quite valuable for a study of the history and culture of Medieval South India.

(ii) South India has produced a lot of philosophical and religious works besides technical literature which has a bearing on political and economic thought and organization, fine arts, sciences, etc. But much work remains to be done by way of collections and selecting from them relevant paragraphs that are useful.

(iii) South India is rich in archæological wealth. In recent years many archæological excavations have been conducted in the area. But the reports on most of them have not been published, except for notices in the pages of the Archæological Survey of India and the Archæological Reports issued by the Mysore and Andhra Pradesh Governments. However, not all of the reports on these excavations conducted in the South have been published so far.

(iv) South India has also yielded nearly forty thousand inscriptions, and notices of these have been published in the Annual Reports of the Archæological Departments of Mysore, Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), Travancore and Cochin (Kerala), and the former Pudukottah State. There are many more inscriptions, including the copper plate ones, which remain to be collected. The Annual Reports of the Epigraphy Department do, no doubt, contain details regarding the location, dynasty, script and a summary of contents of each inscription. Nevertheless, since these inscriptions contain much more useful information, the complete publication of the texts is necessary. So far, only about six thousand inscriptions have been published.

(v) The study of South Indian coins is still in its infancy. From time to time, many hoards of coins have been recovered from different places and deposited in different museums like those in Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad. There are a number of private collections also. Not all of them have been catalogued and made available to the research worker.

Thus, one of the chief problems that a historian of South India faces is what is usually referred to as "gaps" in written histories. One speaks of such "gaps" because of the lack of sufficient material for a study of a particular period or aspect of history. But it is possible that if one cannot get information from one class of source, one may get it from another type of source. For instance, what literature cannot give archæology may be able to contribute. Conversely, what one may not be able to obtain from archæological evidence, one may get it from literary evidence. Therefore, there is a great need for the correlation of literary and archæological evidence to fill up such "gaps" in South Indian history, by means of a systematic collection of the source materials.

NOTES

1. South India is geographically taken to mean the area to the south of the river Krishna. Chronologically the range covered, for South India, is from the earliest times to the fall of the Vijayanagar empire, roughly towards the end of the sixteenth century.
2. The travel notices of South India by foreigners uptil the fourteenth century have been collected by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Shastri and published by the University of Madras (Madras University Historical Series, No. 14). The accounts of later travellers have also been published in different volumes. Relevant matter from them has to be collected and brought together so far as they relate to South India.

A. GHOSH

The Need for Clear Definitions

THE aim of this short note is to pose certain difficulties with regard to a Sourcebook with a view to obtain a clearer definition of its limits and scope.

The first problem is, is it the intention that we shall project the image of Asia by Asians, if one exists, or an Asian image from an Indo-centric point of view? If so, what this Indian point of view is, has to be clearly defined. We have also to take into consideration whether such an endeavour is not likely to dissolve into a study of Indian influences on other Asian countries. At the same time let us for a moment imagine the consequences on Asian studies if each Asian country would start a similar Sourcebook with itself as the focal point and produce tomes like 'Sourcebook of Iraqi and Asian Civilization' or 'of Korean and Asian Civilization'.

If, on the other hand, we are to prepare a Sourcebook on each Asian country or countries conveniently grouped together, we shall have to consider how the disparate old civilizations of the regions constituting Asia can be called *one* civilization, unless we are out to find a soul of Asia or build up a model of Asian civilizations. Many of us have no longer any faith in Kipling's conception of Asia as an essentially spiritual and meditative land, plunging again and again in thought after momentary disturbances produced by frequent or occasional blasts from the West. Even confined to individual regions, it is difficult to find the respective 'souls' or models of their civilizations. Thinking only of one region, South Asia, it is not possible to identify any central or predominant theme or *liet-motiv* which might be regarded as pervading throughout its past. And this soul-finding and model-building exercise will be well-nigh impossible to complete and will in all likelihood be infructuous if we extend our scope to the much wider area of the whole of Asia. If, however, the intention is to deal with each Asian civilization individually, there is no advantage, indeed there are positive disadvantages, in combining all the Asian civilizations under one scheme.

The next difficulty is with the word 'ancient'. While 'ancient', 'medieval' and 'modern' are well-defined stages in West European history, based on political, cultural and intellectual changes, it is certainly not at all so well-defined in other parts of the world. Thinking of India again, the chief historical organization of the country, the Indian History Congress, started with regarding the Ancient Period of India as having ended in about A.D. 1200, then shifted the date back to A.D. 650 and has now reverted to the earlier date of A.D. 1200. All these dates being decided from time to time on principles either undefined or not very clearly known. Thus, both 650 or 1200 A.D. may have some significance for North India and, again, some historians would draw the line between 'ancient' and 'medieval' at about 1000 A.D. None of these dates, however, would suit South India, where, according to some, the Ancient Period ended in 1300 A.D. and, according to others, lingered on till the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire. If developments and continuity of philosophical and religious thoughts be of any consideration, the period should be brought down to comparatively recent times.

If we cannot agree upon the period of the 'ancientness' of India, how infinitely more difficult would it be to agree upon a date, however approximate, for the whole of Asia! On any single date, we may find Buddhism disappearing from one region and being introduced into another; kingdoms breaking up in one and empires being consolidated in another; feudalism developing somewhere and the status of the commoner rising somewhere else.

While it is difficult to draw the end-limit of the ancient period, it is even more difficult to fix the earlier bracket. While, at the end of the fourth millennium B.C., parts of West Asia were on the threshold of civilization in every sense of the word, some neighbouring lands were still leading a straggling palæolithic existence. Each technological stage had a different beginning, in terms of absolute chronology, in each region. With which date do we, therefore, start our Sourcebook?

The next word, 'civilization', may be less controversial, though perhaps more difficult to define in the context of the Sourcebook. It is obvious that a narrow archæological definition of civilization—city-life, public works, monumental buildings, literacy—will not be applicable here. The topics enumerated in the circulated plan of the Seminar may be regarded as comprehensive, with the addition of a few more items, such as the positive sciences, technology, geographical concepts and cosmogny. But all conceivable items will not give the totality of any civilization. Says Kroeber: "every civilization must be accepted as more than the sum of its component items—as a wall is more than a thousand bricks. And evidently the most important thing to know about any civilization is what that 'more than' is—what is its principal coordination, its more or less successfully unified plan"[1]. *An itemization will not only not give the complete picture of any civilization but it may even give a misleading* *picture.* Nevertheless, if itemization is not to be taken recourse to, what is the alternative?

What has been stated above may sound entirely negative in approach and iconoclastic in spirit. But this attitude is not what it may seem to be. If any such project is to be completed successfully, the few difficulties raised here must be solved before any actual work is undertaken.

NOTE

1. A. L. Kroeber, *An Anthropologist Looks at History,* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963, p. 23.

APPROACH TO CIVILIZATION

VINAYAK KRISHNA GOKAK

On Kroeber's Nature of Culture and the Ancient Oikoumenê

BEFORE one plans out in detail a Sourcebook on Ancient Indian and other Asian Civilizations one has necessarily to define one's terms. The word 'civilization' itself is a term of this kind. What we include in such a Sourcebook will depend on the connotation that we give to the word 'civilization'.

The anthropologist claims to-day that the study of culture is his special field. Kroeber, in *The Nature of Culture,* has suggested that civilization means "a body or stream of products of mental exercise". He again refers to it as meaning "the historically differentiated and variable mass of customary ways of functioning of human societies". In another context he says that in addition to content, channelled or selected forms, norms and values, culture also includes human behaviour, for what also matters is the way that the forms and patterns of culture work or function as a group of human beings lives under them. He makes no distinction of any kind between culture and civilization. The word 'culture' he uses as the customary term applicable alike to high or low products of societies. Civilization he uses as the term for the larger and richer cultures, carrying an overtone of high development of a society.

A few anthropologists like Weber tend to distinguish between culture and civilization in a special way. In Weber's view, civilization corresponds with science and technology; culture with philosophy, religion and art. Culture is restricted to philosophy, religion and art, because the arts have always to begin all over again. They progress independently and in different directions. Civilization culture is objective whereas cultural culture is subjective. Another distinguished anthropologist, McIver, has even said that civilization connotes a set of means and culture a set of ends.

Kroeber however, enumerates the qualities of culture as follows:

(i) It is transmitted and continued, not by the genetic mechanism of heredity but by the inter-conditioning of zygotes.

(ii) Whatever its origins in or through individuals, culture quickly tends to become suprapersonal and anonymous and belongs to a whole community of people.

(iii) It falls into patterns or regularities of form and style and significance so that one national culture stands off distinctly from the other.

(iv) It embodies values which may be formulated as mores or folkways by the society carrying the culture. It is in its affect-laden idea system that the core of a culture lies. It is an objectively expressed freedom of subjective values and this is called its ethos, genius or master-pattern.

We may also try to define what the contents of culture or civilization are. There are four kinds of phenomena which are called real,—the one of matter and force or the inorganic, the one of life or the directly organic or vital, the other one of consciousness or the mentally organic or psychic and the last one of social life or culture which may be referred to as the civilization or superorganic or superpsychic. Four kinds of sciences deal with these phenomena: the physical and chemical in the realm of the inorganic, the biological in the domain of the organic, the psychological concerned with the psychic aspects of the organic or the mental and the social sciences operating with superorganic phenomena.

The data of these four levels can be either reviewed as they are depicted and their qualitative values traced or we can pass through them to the processes involved, directing our enquiry into the mechanisms themselves. The functional-social approach is microscopic, concerned with causes and effects and with the practical. The historical-cultural approach is microscopic or telescopic and is oriented towards the interrelations and significances of the products of culture. The four levels of phenomena and the scientific and historical methods of dealing with them can therefore be set forth as follows:

LEVELS	*FORMATION OF PROCESSES*	*DEPICTION OF PHENOMENA*
Super-organic Phenomena	Social Psychology	Culture History
Mental Organic Phenomena	Psychology	Biographic History
Vital Organic Phenomena	Physiology	Natural History
Inorganic Phenomena	Physics, Chemistry	Astronomy, Geology

Every human situation has environmental, organic, social and cultural dimensions. When we concentrate on a personality or some such limited area, all these factors are seen as so many dimensions "radiating" out from the point under observation. But when we approach larger areas and trace large historic patterns or their interrelations, the aspects so harmonised appear to us as superposed layers or levels.

The social level is distinguished from the cultural level because cultural and social phenomena are thoroughly distinct though they coexist in man. Many kinds of insects lead an intensive socialised existence. But they do not manifest even the rudiments of culture. Culture is therefore the top-level of the hierarchy of phenomena that we have spoken of. There may be a level higher than the cultural level. Kroeber says regarding this: "personally, I would not have the glimmering of a suspicion as to what a level or organisation higher than that of culture might be like. Yet a future generation may see more clearly". This higher level may have found a different kind of expression in philosophy, religion and art. But the anthropologist does not wish to investigate levels which may be connected with the unknown or *unmapped levels of consciousness.*

There are two totally separate evolutions—that of the organic level and the other one of the social level. The social level is not a link in a chain but a leap to another plane like the first occurrence of life in a lifeless universe. Culture is divisible into three levels which Kroeber has called the levels of reality culture, social culture and value culture. A better name for reality culture is what Kroeber himself suggested earlier: subsistence culture. Reality culture is diffusional and accumulative. A new generation can take it up where the other ones left it. Social culture is neither specifically accumulative nor specifically creative. Value culture however is ever creative.

The components of culture have, therefore, to be analysed at these three levels. At the level of subsistence culture, we can include the achievements under applied science or technology, the devices, instruments and skills directed to the achievement of goals. Here come the useful arts like pottery and weaving. Kroeber even regards medicine and engineering as useful arts in spite of the scientific processes that they employ, because it is the ultimate practical purposes demanding it that determine whether a subject is a science or art.

The level of social existence is concerned with social structure and action—the economic systems of both production and distribution—the political system of governance (State), the structure of family, clan, tribe, community or any other social groupings, race, in fact, the whole area of human social relationships.

The third level of value culture of 'fine' or 'creative' culture includes achievements under the fine arts, philosophy, religion, traditions, codes and customs and play activities. Even scientific activity, when it is purely intellectual and non-utilitarian, belongs here. So do mathematics and logic.

The classification accepted above should not be regarded as an absolute one. It is only a conceptual axis within one which is useful for clear understanding. But it is bound to be capricious if it is pushed too far.

Thus, for example, language is a fourth component of culture which serves the three levels referred to above, but its mechanism is not an end in itself. The fifth component is ethics or morality and law. It is rooted in values which we have included under the third level. But it functions as the basic regulatory at the second or social level, particularly when it is expressed as law.

The sixth component of culture is fashion. It is dedicated to values, but its values are trivial and ever-changing though they have considerable social significance.

It will be seen, therefore, that the study of culture which the anthropologists have adopted as their main concern, demands familiarity with a number of sciences. It has to gather its materials through a number of auxiliary sciences such as ceramics, archæology, ethonology, and technology at the first level; archæology and ethnology and economics, sociology and political science at the second level; philosophy, aesthetics, religion and personality psychology at the third level; and other sciences like linguistics and geography which, in a way, are concerned with all these levels. It is only when we face human activity comprehensively, from all these angles, that we arrive at an integrated concept of the culture of any group of people.

It is impossible to say positively what leads to the configuration of the great cultures of the world. Spengler thinks that, at the bottom of the formation of a great civilization, lies immanent predestination. On the other hand, Toynbee thinks that the causal agent is the moral free will of man asserting itself during certain epochs and leading to great achievement. Sorokin thinks that the rise and fall of civilizations is due to the oscillation between sensate and ideational proclivities. It is difficult to say how a great civilization like the Græco-Roman or the Ancient Indian, was born. What we can do is to study them in depth and have a total view of what they stood for. It is not as though the peak values of any cultural system were absorbed by all human beings who were responsible for their emergence and growth. The diffusion of a system of cultural values among its own people may be studied as one of the interesting problems connected with the system itself.

II

Kroeber (*The Nature of Culture*: pp. 379-395), in his essay on the *Ancient Oikoumene as a Historic Cultures Aggregate* has certain interesting remarks to make on Ancient Indian Civilization as a whole. The word Oikoumene means "the inhabited". The Greeks used this word for referring to the total habitable world known in their time. It stretched from the Pillars of Hercules to the Indus and the Seres. The tracts referred to by the Greeks still correspond to a great historic unit. It was within this frame that the most important forms of civilization as yet produced by mankind were achieved. The tracts cover: the Eastern end of the Mediterranean from Egypt to Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome, Persia, India, China, Champa, Cambodia, Siam and Java, France, and Northern Europe. Eastward, there was the Fertile Crescent, Persia, India, China, Colonial India and Japan. Westward from India there was the Fertile Crescent again, Crete, Greece, Rome and Atlantic Europe. There was continuous interaction among these areas. It has only recently begun to be known to what extent Greek science rested on antecedents in the Fertile Crescent. Greek sculpture had its impact on Gandhara sculpture. It is well known how the art of paper making travelled all the way from China to Europe. The Oikoumene was the region of the first hearth of all higher civilizations, of the first farming, towns, kings and letters.

Islam arose in this region at a time when constructive cultural impulses had long since moved out of that hearth and even beyond Greece and Persia and this region lay covered by a presumably uncongenial Hellenic and Persian civilization. The societies of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia were also worn out. It is significant that Islam arose in this very region to establish its own free society. It is also meaningful that the founder of this church and state came from an area which was external to those nationalities as well as to the Græco-Roman impact and the revived Iranian monarchy. Islamic civilization was new precisely in its appeal to the common techniques and therefore to the commonness of men and in its discarding of much of the heritage of the past. It reduced and simplified culture.

In all cultural comparisons, three aspects of phenomena are involved:

(i) The cultural content which may remain nearly the same wherever it is carried.

(ii) The form or style of culture which varies both regionally and temporarily. Though the style of a national culture goes on changing internally, it remains distinctive when contrasted with the style of other cultures.

(iii) The consideration of the values of the content and style achieved. These values vary not only between different civilizations but among successive periods of the same civilization.

Styles remain individuated to a great extent. The cultural areas can share a cultural content in common, though this may not be identical in all the regions. Values seem particularly limited. But there are the slow wanderings of the foci of value productivity which knit together areas into a unit totality. This is what happened to the culture aggregate called the Oikoumene.

We may now review some of the cultural materials which became shared across the breadth of this unit totality.

(a) The group of basic subsistence and survival techniques like the artificial growing of the fundamental food crops such as barley, wheat and millet; the breeding of cattle, sheep, pigs and other animals; metallurgical processes connected first with copper-bronze and then with iron-steel. The origin of some of these techniques is now placed somewhere in or near South-Western Asia, with a spread thence into China, India, nearer Africa and Europe. There are other plants and animals which are also shared by East and West, like rice and sugarcane, limited to southern ranges, or like buck-wheat to northerly or elevated ones. Among animals, the hen, though first attached to man in the Far Eastern tropics, proved to be little limited by climate; but the reindeer was definitely limited. The bred-horse is of interest as one of a small group of culture acquisitions which may well have been made in near Asia.

(b) An institution shared by East and West is divinity of kingship, with its appendages on the one hand of retainer burial and, on the other, of mass conscription for construction of dykes, canals, wells, palaces, temples and tombs. It is even possible that retainer burial might have been abandoned in Mesopotamia and Egypt before it became established in the Far East.

(c) Eunuchism can be traced back about four millenia in Mesopotamia as a ritual mutilation. This practice seems not to have spread widely beyond its West Asiatic region. Harem eunuchism is a later institution and is found well established in China of Chou times and may be later than that. Eunuchism became established in Byzantine Christian Constantinople and in Mohammadan Osmani Constantinople, but never got a real foothold in Occidental civilization. It also never crossed over from Korea to Japan. Thus it traversed the main breadth of Eurasia but did not succeed in penetrating the two extreme peripheries. In China, India and West Asia, eunuchism had long been inter-twined with the pomp and prestige of royalty and it maintained itself in China until 1911.

(d) There is a group of systems of magico-ritual practice which are regarded as the results each of a single, inter-connected growth in the Eastern Hemisphere. They have only slighter counterparts in the Western Hemisphere. They include the blood sacrifice complex, divination from parts of animals, astrology and alchemy. The basic origins of astrology must be ascribed to Western Asia, especially to Mesopotamia. It was developed further in Alexandria as by the addition of the week; and was transmitted to both Occidental and Islamic civilizations. The system spread eastward to India and its derivative cultures as far as Bali. China however developed its own geometry which had techniques different from those of astrology. Alchemy also received its first Western formulation at Alexandria, shortly after astrology. But it may have been Far Eastern in origin.

(e) The period of the *6th* century B.C. or possibly a two to three hundred year block—produced Lao Tze and Confucius, Buddha and probably Zoraster, as well as Thales and his nearer successors in Greek philosophy to Plato. Also it is clear that by 200 B.C. creativeness was either definitely past or rapidly ending in all these growths. This may have been accidental, due to some underlying current or to a direct spread by contagion, or a spirit of enquiry, of an attitude demanding a reasoned system of thinking.

Thus the sequence of ideologies quite clearly was:

(i) the cult of magic ritual directed towards the sensory appeasement and favour of anthropomorphic powers;

(ii) a de-personalised, largely de-animized, pragmatic, investigatory way of thinking;

(iii) But this again was soon followed in counter-reaction by a pair of parallel systems of reanimized imitations of science.

III

Let us now review some more tangible items of culture content.

(a) *The Cavalry:* The taming of the horse is attributed to the Central Asiatics. But the animal was first driven and then ridden both in the West and in the East. Riding the animal figures is on the historic scene in the West towards 700 B.C., in Assyria and in China nearly 300 B.C. The Persians retained chariots until Alexander. Though Poros and Chandragupta already had horsemen in India, chariots lingered on, at least for officers, until Harsha of the *7th* century.

(b) *Stirrups:* The stirrup saddle comes on the scene in Constantinople around 580 B.C. and in China possibly about 477 B.C. It was possibly invented in Central Asia.

(c) *Money:* Disk coinage spread rapidly from *7th* century B.C. Lydia. It became established in both India and China before 300 B.C. Japan did not mint until A.D. 708.

(d) *Water-mills:* These probably originated in Hellenic Asia in the first century B.C. and spread to Italy in the next century. The Chinese claim the same invention in A.D. 260. India is said to have got its water-driven-mills from a Persian sent by Constantine the Great.

(e) *Felt:* The occurrence of felt on both sides of Central Asia is old. The earliest Western record is Homeric. For both China and India there are mentions of it from the *4th* century B.C. onwards.

(f) *Cotton:* It seems to have spread from India. It largely displaced wool in Mesopotamia, linen in Egypt and Europe and hemp in China and Japan. It was also an important plant in America.

(g) *Chess :* The game of chess originated in India. This is corroborated by the derivation of its Persian and Arabic names from Sanskrit *Chaturanga.* The earliest datable Indian reference is just after A.D. 600 by which time it is believed to have been already established in Persia. The Arabs took over the Persian game and passed it on to the West.

(h) There are other items which have long since spread across Eurasia: (i) Falconry, (ii) the crossbow, (iii) gun powder and firearms, (iv) the compass, (v) the concept of the dragon. But there are larger and more elusive complexes:

(1) *Printing :* Seals were almost as old as writing itself in the Near East and India. They seem to have reached China only during the third century B.C. Around A.D. 105, paper was invented in China. Block printing began to be operative within about six centuries and moveable type printing within another four. The course of paper manufacture and sheet block printing have been traced from China through Central Asia into Muslim Iraq, Egypt and Morocco and from there into Catholic Europe. China had playing cards and paper money the same time as paper was made. Cards appeared in Western Europe four centuries afterwards their mention in China. Type printing also began in Europe four centuries later than in China. It is not clear whether there was direct derivation with regard to type printing.

(2) *Royal* Tombs : The first flush and display of wealth in burials spread as a specific practice from the Fertile Crescent to North-Western Europe on one side and China on the other.

(3) *Sculpture :* There was considerable activity to the Eastern end of the Mediterranean—from Egypt to Mesopotamia—in sculpture around 600 B.C. Greek sculptures replaced it to the West. Then came Persia. Within a few centuries there were still more Easterly developments arising in India and China. On the Western side, Greek sculpture was succeeded by Roman. Indian sculpture culminated by about A.D. 500, China's a little later. India had a series of more easterly colonial off-shoots in Champa, Cambodia, Siam and Java between 700-1200 A.D. China's sculpture had its daughter in Japanese sculpture about 1200 A.D. On the Western side, Medieval ecclesiastic architectural sculpture, centred in France, developed and spread till it was surpassed by the European Renaissance.

(4) *Drama.*

(5) *Christianity and Buddhism :* The two religions shared quite a few mechanisms. The common elements are :

(a) Organized monasticism including nunneries, with similar seclusion, vows and even details like begging, etc.

(b) The use of bells, candles and rosaries in worship.

(c) The nimbus or halo in art.

(d) Relics and pilgrimages.

(e) The notion of paradise and of hell—filled with flames and devils. The concept of heaven and hell seems to have entered into Christianity and Buddhism from Iranian (Zorastrian?) sources.

(6) *Grammar:* The first discovery of grammar may be attributed to India. A similar rediscovery was made for the Greek language a little later. The final Greek formulation was also probably under some degree of stimulation from India, especially as it was made as late as the second century B.C. by non-Greeks in Anatolia and Egypt.

(7) *The Novel:* Full type novels have been developed only there times: (a) Japan, Murasaki's Genji 1004 A.D. (b) In China, genuine historical writing was older than in Japan. That is probably why the novel emerged later. Though a few historical romances were produced in China during the Mongol period, the first novel as such came in the late *17th* century, it was called *Red Chamber Dream.* (c) In Europe, the Spanish novel came first, a century before the English novel (the first English novel was *Pamela* by Richardson, 1742). In the Far East, the novel probably came earlier because China and Japan did not have any epic tradition. The novel was possibly inhibited in India by the epic but a larger factor is likely to have been the Hindu penchant for extravagant exaggeration, which alone would be fatal to the novel. The novel seems to have developed in the Far East and Far West because, during the later period, it was only on these two peripheries of Eurasia that forms of civilization existed which were at once mature and yet still vigorously productive.

We may then conclude that the Oikoumene was a great web of cultural growth, extensive and rich in content. Within this web, inventions or new cultural materials tended to be transmitted from end to end though the major style of each civilization in the area persisted in its individuation.

Secondly, new ways of thinking have shown a tendency to propagate themselves across the long stretch of the area almost like a wave.

Finally, the 'primitives' in the area or adjoining it derived their cultures mainly from the civilization characteristic of the nexus as a whole through reductive selection.

Though native America, like every other area, experienced some connections with Eurasia, its culture on the whole crystallised independently in its own heartland from Central Mexico to some-what beyond Peru. A great many seeds of culture might have passed, by land or by sea from Asia to this or that part of the Americas. But the major civilizational growth gives no indication of integrating with the corresponding part in Eurasia.

VIDYA NIWAS MISRA

The Indian Concept of Civilization in the Modern Context

THE standard scales by which we measure a civilization differ from culture to culture because, how-so-ever abstract and ideal they may be, a great deal depends on the structure of the particular language in which they are expressed. As Bagby aptly remarks, "our own ideas and values are embedded in language; and yet our language is the only tool we have with which to describe alien ideas and values".[1] Let us take for example the word civilization itself. Civilization as a Western academic concept is essentially the culture of cities, it is "a process of refinement of the individual with perhaps more emphasis on the social graces".[2] On the other hand, the counterpart of this concept in Indian languages is *Sabhyata*—a word derived from *Sabha*—etymologically the earlier meaning being 'shining together'. Later on, its meaning is an 'assembly of men', or even more precisely, an 'assembly of men in harmony'. Thus, *Sabha* and *Samiti* are called upon as the twin daughters of the Creator,[3] and *Sabha* is invoked to be the producer of a congenial atmosphere.[4] As such, the basis of the concept of *Sabhyata* is living together in harmony.

The harmony of mind, action and speech is an oft-repeated theme of Vedic prayers. The very layout of a Vedic village (*Grama*) was based on this concept of harmony, i.e. everything emanates from the centre in the same way as the *rita* (the Cosmic order) emanates from *Satya* (the eternal truth), the centre holds the circle and the circle holds the centre. It is thus not a one-way movement from 'outwards into the unity of a nation and into a single term of fixed, closed borderlines'. It is simultaneously an expansion 'from an intensive nucleus into vague unlimited forms of growth and uncertain periphery'[5] and an inversion into the inner soul of existence. The Indian concept of *Sabhyata* is not so much refinement, as it is an attempt to reseek the rhythm of existence. The minimal social unit is family and not the individual and the minimal political unit is *Grama*, where a group or family resides as one big family. In other words, the *grama* concept is an expression of the family concept[6] and as such it underlies perfect internal harmony, and it is for this reason why this term was also borrowed in music to denote harmony.

Therefore, urban sophistication, in terms of the Indian concept, is rather an essential trait of a dandy (*nagara*) than of a civilized person, one who although may be uncouth and crude in appearance yet is endowed with an understanding of the inherent harmony in things, both sentient as well as non-sentient. It is not that urbanity is an alien element for us. On the contrary, urbanity is indigenous to the soil, since the history of cities goes as far back as the Harappan civilization. But urbanity was somehow subsumed to the higher values of cultural growth, and did not remain as the sole measure of civilization. These higher values emphasize the simultaneous coexistence of the many worlds, and deny the uniqueness or absolute value to any one of them. This emphasis "implies an innate tolerance towards other viewpoints and a ready acceptance, not a repulsion of new ideas".[7] Later on, a clear conception of this interrelatedness is further, gradually, developed. It is extended to chemistry, astronomy and civil engineering, and also to art and literature. It is, perhaps, for the deep roots of these concepts that a Westerner is ordinarily not able to grasp the dynamic rhythm of, say, the inter-twined and seemingly incongruent and divergent depiction of man, animal and plant in Indian art, or the repetitious nature of Sanskrit poetry.

The Western concepts of rhythm and the notion of aesthetic order, on the other hand, has been static with an emphasis on the unique. Man stands at the top in his universe, while the rest of existence is subservient to him. Furthermore, he stands in Time and Space which are real dimensions, and his achievements thus are distanced land-marks in history rather than a continuous one string. But from the Indian viewpoint, Time by itself is not the driving force behind the creative process (in fact creation itself did not take place within Time) and it is just a modal appearance of the creative process.

According to Abhinavagupta, the main exponent of Indian aesthetics, being is "neither merely an atemporal visualization of itself nor an absolute separation from time and space, but is the realization of itself as separable on one plane and the potentiality of being involved in time and space on the other".[8] The Indian view does not reject history, it transcends it. It differs from the primitive cyclic notion of time in as much as it is not confined to a mere process of periodic abolition of the creation and of going back to the atemporal instant of the beginning. It thus differs from the Western notion that life and reality are nothing but history, in as much as it rejects the notion of a final and irreducible human destiny. In short, whereas in Indian thought human existence is simultaneously atemporal and temporal, in Western thought the historical aspect of human existence is predominant, and Time is charged with significance for men because human life is lived under the shadow of Time.[9]

The relevance of these aspects of Indian thought is particularly helpful in the context of understanding the modern predicament. Today, when confronted with the depersonalized aspect of technology, 'modern man' finds himself without support, and is in a panic terrified of sinking into the abysmmal void.[10] If a solution of this predicament is to be found, it is not in the reassertion of freedom from "the physical or the natural approach to the human element, as this is likely to lead to further chaos and confusion".[11] If a solution is to be found, it can be found only in a system of thought which adjusts itself to both the intellectual as well as emotional needs, to the growth of science and to the furtherance of universal humanism, to infinite Time and to segmented Time, and finally on the metaphysical plane to the macro-cosmos and to the micro-cosmos. Such a system of thought could only emanate from the Indian material. However, the Western thinker, for instance, in the absence of such concepts finds it hard to reconcile that Christ is the son of God and at the same time a historical figure; he is the very personification of the fulfilment of a great historical purpose and he is the very cessation of history.[12] But for an Indian thinker this would be a very simple matter. Christ as the Saviour would be an atemporal reality and Christ as an individual would be an historical event more relevant to the recorder of facts than to mankind in general. Thus, for us, Rama and Krishna are as real as living reality, which is ever-evolving and is happening simultaneously within both man (and not a chosen people) and within the Universe. Nevertheless, these gods are completely unreal as historical events, and as historical figures they are mere shadows—of little concern for the people.

The corresponding word for history, in India, is *itihasa.* It means 'so it has been' and not, as in the West, 'so it was', so that the 'so it was' aspect is neither relevant nor real as the 'so it has been' aspect which is always relevant and real. Although this attitude towards history makes Indian society necessarily a tradition-bound one yet it also remains a free society, free from such inhibitions as of race—declared as the 'indeterminable and therefore irrelevant in a human context',[13] creed, nationality and, subsequently, historical obligations. Obligations there are, but they are to the Cosmic Being at the one end and to the immediate ancestors at the other, while the seekers of Truth and the dynamic aspects of the cosmic being—the gods—intervene between the two.[14] This is most probably the reason why there is a great feeling, on the one hand, for home—the cosy warm hearth, the Fire-God—the embodiment of concreteness and intimacy[15]; and on the other hand, a great reverence for the nebulous Universe, the immeasurable infinite, the great substratum of the seed of creation[16] (the Cosmic Waters), and for the unseen *Vak*—the embodiment of abstraction and awe-inspiring distance. It is for this reason that fire and water therefore play an important role in Indian ritual: the home and altar standing as manifestations of both the known and the unknown aspects of the Great Being.[17] For example, the lotus-and-swan motif in Indian painting or sculpture design is the representation of this interweaving of seemingly two extremes.

In Indian thought, there is no incongruity for the reason that the Brahman is a single Being with two natures (*dvaibhavah*), because these two natures do not stand in opposition to each other, being mutual complements as well as in complementary distribution, so to say. It is not Man (*Nara*) alone, who is dependent on the Universal Being for his existence, but the Universal Being (*Narayana*) himself has to descend as Man (*Nara*) in order to fulfill his obligation to Man in his service.[18] Emancipation from bondage of the cycle of life and death is a lesser reward in comparison to the reward sought for by the saint —the pleasure of working with God for the emancipation of human suffering.[19] In short, this two-way movement reconciles all contradictions and apparent divergences.

The very beginnings of Indian civilization reveal to us this two-way process of interaction at the various levels. To illustrate, (i) at the level of language we find that Sanskrit borrows freely from the Dravidian and the Munda languages and, *vice-versa,* the Dravidian and the Munda languages enrich their vocabulary with loan words from Sanskrit. Thus, within its own family of languages, Sanskrit clearly manifests influences of the Prakrits, words like *Jyoti, Vikata, Nirjhara* are definite evidences of Prakritisms[20] within Sanskrit and Middle Indic. Modern Indo-Aryan dialects have always freely borrowed from Sanskrit from time to time, whenever a necessity of cultural re-integration arose. (ii) At the literary level we find clear evidence (right from the age of Kalidasa) of the interaction of the Shastric and folk traditions, with equal respectability given to each of them.[21] (iii) At the artistic level we find both *marga* (classical) and *desi* trends working in music[22] and *natyadharmi* (suggestive) and *lokadharmi* (realistic) conventions given equal importance in the field of the performing arts.[23] (iv) At the socio-religious level, we find an interplay between the Great and the Little traditions, the Little tradition being elevated to the position of Great tradition, by giving a scholastic formulation of its ideas, Gods and rituals, and not by being absorbed in the Great tradition; and the Great tradition by becoming so diffused as to invoke emotional response from the populace and subsequently by coming at par with the Little traditions.[24]

The emphasis on an elaboration of the message of the Vedas through the popular *Puranas* and *Itihasa* exemplifies this complementariness, on the search of a Vedic source for every form of worship, legend and socio-religious concept. This particular trait in Indian thought has a special relevance in the modern context. Today, we find an irreconcilable conflict raging between the urban and the rural, the industrial and the agricultural societies, the mass and the individual cults, technological knowledge and the humanities. Each of these conflicts aims at the complete annihilation of the weaker adversary. But the Indian mind does not like to juxtapose these pairs as opposites, it rearranges them on two different levels and resolves the conflict.

In fact, it is only within the Western concept that Indian history has been read as a history of conflict between the invaders and the inhabitants. But what has happened in India is a two way process of interchange and acculturation, rather than a process of complete extinction or absorption. "We can eliminate such possibilities as the biological extinction or dispersion of the Harappans into obscurity, or the absorption of the native society into the conquering Aryan hordes or even that of war of all non-Aryans against all Aryans until extinction."[25] Similarly, the wide gulf between India and the West is not due to India's unawareness of the West, but due to the West's misreading of India. Indian thought does not reject history, it merely transcends it in order to build a superstructure of tradition. It is thus a two-way process of the acceptance of new ideas and a reevaluation of the old ones, whereas history is linear and uni-directional. Tradition is curvilinear and multi-directional, going back and forth, slowly raising itself a little higher everytime. Hence, "it is tradition that educates and governs the values, attitudes and behaviour of this basic individual (the commoner in India) and despite the beginnings of incipient industrial urbanization in India, we are far from being termed as a transitional society."[26]

It is perhaps for the reasons stated above that the Indian has never been concerned with national feelings. The focus of the Indian social concept, as mentioned earlier, is either the whole Cosmos or the small well-knit organization of the family. In this lies her strength, and not her weakness. The Indian insistence on the universal rather than on the general and on particularness at the same time has contributed a great deal towards a better understanding and tolerance of diverse cultures. It has not aspired to bring the world under the aegis of one culture, as suggested by such historians like Toynbee. Consequently, this Indian view might do better by inculcating respect for truth, humility, toleration,[27] and by encouraging a far more accurate and objective scholarship which goes beyond the narrow national considerations.

To sum up, the Indian concept of civilization is wide enough to include urbanity, specially because it goes much beyond urban refinement into a search of inherent harmony. The Indian attitude towards history is that of compassion rather than either of rejection or of total surrender. Indian society has always been undergoing a two-way process of the interplay of the Shastric (scholastic), or the Great and the Folk or the Little Traditions, so that a balance has always generally been maintained. Indian mind has long been freed of the fear of external forces or even the forces created by Man, because it has sought the highest of pleasures in identifying itself with the misery and bondage of others. This, even after it has attained the highest bliss or emancipation for itself. Indian ethics is built upon this concept of identification and not on equality, which is a superficial aim compared to it.

These viewpoints are relevant in the modern context, when there is a pressing need for one world. The Indian solution would resolve the world-conflict without levelling the differences between the various modes and aspirations through a broader understanding and tolerance and a deeper quest for truth yet to be achieved.

Ahamanritad Satya-mupaimi. 'From the direction of falsehood, I come closer to Truth.'

NOTES

1. Philip Bagby—*Culture and History*, p. 191.
2. *Ibid*—p. 74.
3. Sabha ca ma samitiscavatam prajapaterduhitarau samvidane yena sangaccha upa ma sa siksaccaru vatani pitarah sangatesu. A. V. VII. 12, 1.
   The twin daughters of the Prajapati (Creator), Sabha and Samiti (Assembly and Council), full of understanding may protect us, so that he may educate us in the art of living together and we may address the elders in a sweet manner.
4. Vidma te sabhe nama narista nama va asi |
   ye te ke ca sabhasadaste me santu suvacasah || A. V. VII. 12, 2
   We know you, Sabha, you are auspicious by very name.
   May your members converse with me.
5. B. Heimann—*Facets of Indian Thought*—p. 29.
6. Yatha kutumbinah sarva ekibhuta vasanti hi
   sarvalokasya sa gramo yatra nityam vyavasthitih ||
   —Verse described to Matanga in the Sangita Sudhakara
   Commentary of Singa Bhupala on Sangita Ratnakara I/4/5
7. B. Heimann—*op.cit.* p. 22.
8. V. N. Misra—Time in Modern Hindi Poetry (*Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists*), [*quotation from Isvara Pratya*].
9. *Ibid.*
10. Gose, Ortega Y. Gasset—*History as a System*, pp. 182-93.
11. *Ibid.* p. 160.
12. For detailed discussion, see "Earliest Christianity" (*The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*), pp. 204-14.
13. Mbh: Vana Parva—Ajagara Parva—Chapp. 180/31
    Jatiratra mahasarpa manusyatve mahamate |
    Sankarat sarvavarananam duspariksyeti me matih ||
14. V. N. Misra—"The social aspect of the Bhakti Movement" (*Mankind*, Vol. X-2), p. 27.
15. Sunrtavantah subhaga iravanto hasamudah
    Atr'sya aksudhyasta griha masmad bibhitana. AV. VII 60/6.
    "O homes endowed with sweet speech, splendour,
    wisdom and rejoicings, be emancipated from thirst and
    from hunger and do not apprehend any danger, when we return
    to you, we are what you want in us."

16. Mama yonirapsvantah samudra R.V., X. 125-7
My cradle is in the waters of the Ocean.
17. F. D. K. Bosch—*The Golden Germ*, p. 59.
18. "Avatareu apane bhagata hita nijatantra nita
raghukula mani"—Tulsidas—Ramcharit Manas, I/57.
19. Na tvaham kamaye rajyam na svargam na punarbhavam kamaya duhkhataptanam kevalamartinasanam||
I do not aspire for earthly kingdom, nor for heavenly kingdom and nor for cessation of birth, I aspire only for my usefulness in dispelling misery—Bhagavata Purana.
20. S. M. Katre—*Prakrit Language and their Contribution to Indian Culture*, pp. 66-7.
21. Dvidhaprayuktena ca vanmayena
Sarasvati tanmithunam nunava |
Samskaraputena varam varenyam
vadhum sukhagrahyanibandhanena||
Kumarasambhavam Canto VII.
"The Goddess of Speech sang in praise of the couple (Siva and Parvati) in a twofold medium, she sang the glory of the revered bridegroom in Sanskrit, purified and finished and she sang the beauty of the delicate bride in Prakrit—a medium easy to grasp!
22. Margo Desiti tad dvedha tatra margah sa ucyate
Marzoto Virincyadyah prayukto Bharatadibhih
Devasya puratah Sambhorniyatabhyudayapradah
dese dese janamam yadrucya hridayaranjakam
Sangita Ratnakara, I.1.22-23.
23. K. Vatsyayan—*Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, 1968, Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, p. 9.
24. V. N. Misra—*op.cit.*—"The Great tradition properly so called is and was always constantly reshaped by the process of elevation of a mass cult to a prestige cult. Now this recognition by the traditionalistic elite of popular religious movements is not motivated by a desire to stoop to conquer. Thus it did not result in absorption of the identity of the folk movements (as Srinivas assumes). Such movements on the contrary have given more than received in terms of change, which they brought in the total structure of values."
25. S. C. Malik—*Indian Civilization : The Formative Period*, 1968. Simla, pp. 142-43.
26. *Ibid.* p. 174.
27. Sri Isaiah Berlin's letter quoted in *The Problems of Civilizations*, p. 84.

S. C. MALIK

Indian History and Civilization : Anthropological Perspectives

THE aim of this programmatic paper is to focus attention on an anthropological viewpoint which we may adopt for a Sourcebook. This may, hopefully, help us to reformulate difficulties of explaining historical events which are encountered in the understanding of Indian culture and civilization. The theme of this paper might suggest to some that everything mental and spiritual by which Indian civilization has been well-known should be eliminated. It should be clarified at the outset that this is not the case because all academic studies of man would be barren without the 'spirit'. But we must think of the spirit in such forms of behaviour which are empirical facts, and like other empirical facts, our evidence should be susceptible to some currently valid means of rational analysis. Moreover, if the need was only to stress the ideal values of India, then our problem of writing a Sourcebook would be greatly simplified. But there are many facets of viewing one's evidence, depending upon the emphasis which is laid by the scholar. For instance, the following well-known events of history might as well emphasize to us the materialistic nature of India rather than merely the oft-repeated 'spiritual' aspect:

(i) We rely greatly upon the Vedic texts for their descriptions. If so, apart from the philosophical aspects, mention is also made of the fee which is to be paid to the priest in terms of *material wealth* (estimated at thousands of cows). Not only this, the Brahmin was very jealous of his *property rights* since the hymns of Atharva-Veda invoke the direct curses upon anyone trespassing upon the *property rights of the priest.*

(ii) A very modern sentiment is expressed in the Arthasastra when it says that the most important ends of worldly life is not religion, or pleasure but public economic wealth because on it depends all the other goals of life!

(iii) Several 14*th* century sources mention that the teaching of Sanskrit was a means towards obtaining wealth and sensual enjoyments. There is textual and inscriptional evidence which tells us of how a sastri may gain a lucrative position near the king. These wealth seeking brahmins and priests did more for perpetuating orthodox tradition and Brahmin code of behaviour than the truly 'other-wordly' ones.

(iv) Unlike Buddhism, Jainism did not succumb to a revived Brahmanism because it was a religion of town dwellers, specially of the commercial and business people who were essential for the running of society.

(v) The mass of metaphysical speculation, moral ideals, etc., suggest a great seriousness of Indian writers. But it overlooks another set of values present in lyrical poetry and in the vast tales of romances, which tell us about the delight in living, artistic sensitiveness and rewards of prosperity. But somehow the stereotype that in achieving these ideals, anything that fell short of it resulted in misery and sorrow has caught on. Hence, we hear people talk of the teeming suffering or ability to suffer of Indian humanity. But it is often forgotten that sorrow was a theological presupposition, and more of a dogma than a reality. Therefore, if the highest order of Indian thinking is enduring, so also are real the immediate experiences of the ordinary in the joy of daily living. Both inspire each other.

(vi) In the writing of lay political or religious history, steeped as it is in creating a glorious self-image, mention is seldom made of the fact that some Hindu kings were also image breakers or that the strategy of 'benevolent Ashok' to become non-violent may have been due to permanent interests rather than a sudden change of 'spirit'.

In short, viewing our history from many different aspects will create many shocks to this self-image which we perpetuate. The general impression created is that Indians were—and are—less interested in food, sex and the other material enjoyments of life than any other culture and civilization. Somehow, we really believe in it. But this is not a true picture of a people who fight, love, worry about barren women and have many wives, albeit this stuff that moves society is sprinkled by the holy waters poured by the hands of the sacred Brahmin. But even for the latter, this was important since it was—and is—also a question of their survival. The people of India were not different (and are not) in any fundamental way from others, and no less in the creation of enjoyments and the amenities of life for comfort and leisure. Were we more highly spiritual than other cultures, there would have been no recording of hundreds of votive inscriptions giving the names, purposes and object of gifts, the many longer inscriptions recording genealogies and achievements of rulers, business records etc. Admittedly, professed historical writings may be few specially if we view only the political or religious writings. But the various other sources give us another picture, say from archæology, myth, folk-lore, bardic literature and more importantly, the vast oral tradition.

Thus, while the dynasties came and went, new capitals were built and abandoned, while high flown philosophical discussions took place, traditions continued with the masses who were always concerned with the every day mundane things of life—of living, of dying, singing and laughing. The student of Indian history, culture and civilization has not, it appears, reconciled these two contrasting views into a holistic coherent view; that is, the authoritarian (religious or theological) view by the rules of which a society should live, and the other viewpoint of seeing socio-cultural and economic institutions as man-made products, ever changing and evolving into new forms in order to serve man or society in the ever experiencing universe. Consequently, there are dual aspects to our understanding of ourselves or, for that matter, of any other civilization and at any given historical period. But in order to attain an understanding of these processes, the methodologies and approaches of some of the social sciences are important for us to employ.

Nevertheless, the moment it is stated that we should employ certain concepts within which to view our source materials, some scholars might see in it the presence of preconceived notions, of not being objective with 'facts'. But facts neither exist by themselves nor is there any such thing as a 'blank' mind free of theories, unconscious or conscious, and concepts. Therefore, the theoretical issues of approach, of conceptualization and of method have a major role to play because this influences the kinds of questions we ask and the degree of imagination we may show in documentation. Practical problems of building a corpus of material for research are no less important but these reveal only part of the story because these are inseparable from the theoretical issues which tend to limit or expand the scope of research. This is not to suggest a preoccupation with terminology and definitions. But to seek a legitimate definition with fruitful properties and then to use it self-consciously is a very essential operation. The point, therefore, is not of alternatives and the justification of one method over the other but of the self-conscious choice of methods in terms of the tasks and aims which as students of Indian history and civilization we set for ourselves. Many of our research methodologies, until recently, have been bedevilled by compartmentalization or 'fields of study'. "Historians and anthropologists (etc.) are the victim of a metaphor which bedevils even the most casual methodological remark. I mean the agrarian metaphor of 'fields of study'. According to this the busy cultivators of the academic soil divide it up into allotments on each of which, by a natural division of labour, each cultivator raises the kind of crops (of facts, hypotheses, and generalizations) the ground and green fingers will yield. The ploughland, plotted and pieced, of human knowledge, is parcelled out like a great open field after enclosure—woe to the tenant who cannot show a title-deed! . . . . But 'studies', 'subjects', disciplines' are not fields, and facts are not crops to be privately harvested and governed. Facts belong to that category of goods that can be shared without being diminished . . . . The outcome of his labours depends on his choice of facts, and this depends on his interests, on the questions he wishes to ask. Historians (should) know this better, for does not history come from a Greek word for an enquiry? . . ."

In other words, the attack on our problem cannot but be a multi-disciplinary one, specially which is kept within the bounds of the methods and concepts of today and not of yesterday's research techniques. It is in this sense that the division of the 'fields of study' is erroneous, such as the 'strong division of labour' we find in the study of Indian history, culture and civilization. This division is either in terms of chronological periods and/or within its themes of religious, political, social and economic history. To this, we may add the division between local and regional studies and those who deal exclusively with texts, while others with monuments, and yet others with archæological evidence. The worst is that specialists often do not understand each other and for anybody who attempts to integrate the evidence, he is in for an attack by the narrow specialists' professional criticism. However, the holistic view can only emerge from an interdisciplinary (sort of grandscale) study in order to breach the gap between the specialist and those who are attempting to grasp the total view of Indian culture and civilization. Of course, it is not entirely the fault of one's profession because of the very fact of the wide-spread nature of the time and material which Indian civilization covers. Nevertheless, it is also the rigid manner by which the academic world divides the 'fields of study', despite similar goals, that these problems arise.

Supposing even if we agree to this specialist's viewpoint of doing things, then in recent years economic history is being written by economists, men of art background write art history, those of religion, philology and philosophy, etc. write on their own subjects. Therefore, it seems completely logical that professional students of culture and civilization should be the ones (since they have studied societies and cultures whether of the past or the present) who are more competent to present a holistic viewpoint of a civilization. But by this it is not implied, thereby, an exclusion of historians or the historical method. What it does imply is that the profession which deals most with culture, society and civilization is to be found in such social sciences as anthropology and sociology. Therefore, the emphasis should be to utilize the more recent generalizations and concepts about man, society, culture and civilization. It is only after thus formulating many of our basic assumptions that we should go into the actual historical and other material evidence from the past. The very concepts about man, nature, society have changed within our times, and it would be wiser to conduct our research project with these consciously chosen concepts. Hence, what may be academically feasible for divisions into economic, social or cultural history will not be tenable since the various activities of societies are interrelated and there are no clearcut spheres. Now, this is obvious enough. But the problem is how exactly to understand and grasp these processes of interactions that have taken place at different times and in different areas and regions of India. Moreover, at times it may be possible to generalize concretely for India as a whole, while at other times it may not be possible at all except through some abstract generalizations or explanations.

Therefore, the aims stated above may be satisfactorily attempted in a multi-disciplinary manner, primarily by the adoption and refinement of the social-science concepts of analysis, such as of how cultures within India at different times and in different areas had articulated and integrated. Our aim to understand and explain historical events will need to be not merely to inform but to select from the vast amount of material, the mass of details. In this way we might be able to fathom through time this *enduring* but rather *elusive phenomenon of Indian-ness or Indian civilization.*

The suggestions given here are possible because since the 1950's a great deal of spade-work has already been done by anthropologists who have worked in India. These studies have been unlike the ones of the earlier research stage when mere descriptive ethnographic studies were carried out by anthropologists. There have now been formulated tentative hypotheses, based on empirical studies, about the cultural patterns of both the all-India and regional areas, and about the functional inter-relationship between different aspects of Indian culture to its social structure, politics, economics, law and language. The focus of attention of these studies is on the problems of how and why specially because the goals of understanding a civilization can only be of a processual nature, so that it provides us with a coherent picture of an evolving society, its transformations and its continuities. It is only if historical studies are carried out in a similar manner that they will become of relevance for us today.

It is of interest to note here, at the risk of repetition, that the progress in anthropology and sociology which has been made during the last 25 years or so is because of the increasing use of abstractions in order to investigate empirical data. For example, let us take the concept of culture which came to be formulated very gradually. (Kroeber and Kluckhohn mention 161 meanings of culture in a historical narrative). Beginning with the 16*th* century the word 'culture' made its first appearance in the English language in the sense of 'cultivated'. By the 18*th* century both the words of 'culture' and 'civilization', on the continent and in England, meant a cultivated or civilized person. But it was only in the 19*th* century, in Germany, that culture began to mean all aspects of the social life of a people, and it was then borrowed by Tylor into the English speaking world, and thence into anthropology. Now, civilization in the Western academic sense, has tended to indicate higher or more developed form of culture, specially of the cities. Despite the use of different wordings in many parts of the academic world, there is a general understanding about these words. It may not be out of place to mention here that the term 'material culture' which is still used in India is a remnant of the 19*th* century concepts and is not really valid any more. Material things are not culture but they represent cultural behaviour patterns and only reflect the cultures they represent. By this redefinition a great deal of progress has been made at least in the West, whereby a greater rconstruction of past-societies has become possible[1].

Thus, if culture is taken to mean as in anthropology, the regularities in the behaviour—internal and external—of the members of a society "excluding those regularities which are clearly hereditary in origin", then history is more likely to become intelligible for us today if its events are seen as instances of cultural regularities. It is at this level of culture that our historical inquiry for finding a pattern of Indian or Asian civilization will be most fruitful. Individual traits will then be seen as culture traits, and will then find their place as part of a pattern. Moreover, while an assemblage of distinctive culture traits and complexes regularly found together will define a particular culture, society will be represented by a number of people who interact more with each other than they do with the outsiders. Thus, while society serves to define culture, some features of culture serve to define that society, anthropologically speaking. Larger complex societies with subcultures and specially those which have cities then form larger wholes called civilizations and this signifies the appearance of new institutions.

At any rate, without going into the detailed definitions of society and culture which anthropologists employ, it will suffice to say that once we have used these, as historians we might be in a better position to understand the various periods of a given civilization rather than by employing political or language areas as the distinguishing criterion. But these latter methods are not satisfactory enough as units since individual traits or isolated aspects of a society seldom suffice to distinguish cultures either spatially or temporally. For instance, the division of Indian history into Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist periods is not very sound, academically, unless these coincide with many other institutional changes as well. (At present, it remains to be positively—empirically and scientifically—shown that these divisions hold validity.) But this is possible only if we examine the various features of a culture which have changed more rapidly than any other and bear clearly in mind, for instance, that some changes are brought about by technological changes, while sometimes technological changes spread rapidly without altering the basic culture; at other times, social interaction is radically altered by political or religious divisions which create new cultures, etc.

To conclude, traditionally, it has been the task of philosophers (of history) to formulate and write about civilizations and about their basic ideas and values for purposes of differentiating cultures and civilizations. Nevertheless, the basic ideas and values of civilizations are expressed in certain characteristic institutions which set the space and time limit of each culture and civilization.

Our task, therefore, will be to select a number of institutions, anthropologically defined, of sufficient importance, and of a scope and duration which would cover the major aspects of social life and organization, cultural units, political and economic institutions. These various aspects ought then to be found associated together in a number of different local and regional communities. The presence or absence of such characteristic institutions will only then perhaps give us the enduring characteristics which we are seeking. Inevitably, this will involve one in cross-cultural comparative studies—both diachronic and synchronic. For instance, if Islam's entrance into India is considered as the demarcating feature in history, we will need to examine the far-reaching changes it has brought about to call for this type of periodization. In short, the consistence continuities and discontinuities will have to be examined in a majority of the aspects of Indian sub-societies and segments of cultures[2].

NOTES

1. In many ways it is the work and approach of archæology which has enlarged our vision by taking us further back in time. And, not only that but also in terms of the inter-disciplinary approach which history as such could not adequately lend support to archæology. The perspectives now have been lengthened so that Indian civilization has a basis which goes back not simply to the Harappan civilization but also earlier to the prehistoric cultures of the so called 'chalcolithic period', (or a period which I have termed as the *Formative Period of Indian civilization*). All these sources have to rely on empirical evidence which is based not so much on documentary evidence but in this employment of the social science and scientific concepts, methods and techniques.
2. The main points which were discussed with reference to this paper are, as follows:
    - (i) Image breaking by Hindu kings was a rarity, compared to what was carried out by some Muslim kings.
    - (ii) In the South, images were not broken but were replaced because of sectarian feelings and affiliations. As such, these incidents were not much better than what happened in the North.
    - (iii) The Orientalist view of India had, in fact, perpetuated an erroneous image of India.
    - (iv) There was a gap between the anthropologist and the historian since the latter continued to use 19*th* century definitions of culture and civilization. Therefore, civilization as an evolution of a 'way of life' may be more appropriate for us, so that the requirements of both the historian and the anthropologist may be met in this way.
    - (v) Civilizational researches have overdrawn from the work of the Great Traditions rather than the Little Traditions.
    - (vi) A Sourcebook should be more about history, and need not involve us into the writing of a new history or into any problem-oriented approaches.
    - (vii) New methodologies and perspectives must be utilised, specially since the Indian Institute of Advanced Study is undertaking the work. For encyclopædic works, other university centres are better equipped. Therefore, the existing texts might be viewed differently, with the opportunity available now.

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BAIDYANATH SARASWATI

An Anthropologist's Approach

In archæology, the dawn of civilization is marked by the beginning of sedentary life, the utilization of domesticated plants and animals both for food and transport, the invention of the plough, wheel, textiles, metallurgy, wheel-made and kiln-fired pottery, musical instruments, and most important of all the beginnings of writing. But the study of a civilization for history implies an examination of the developments in the non-material aspects of life, such as political organization, religious beliefs, the formation of theological literature etc. In other words, whereas the archæologist's principal interest lies in the material civilization of a country, the historian's interest is generally confined largely to the province of the 'higher' aspects of civilization. Anthropology, on the other hand, distinguishes itself from archæology and history in its display of an equal interest in the study of the material and non-material cultures of societies both of the past and the present. Therefore, from an anthropologist's viewpoint, any Sourcebook on Ancient Indian and other Asian civilizations cannot be restricted to some single aspect of a civilization, specially if it seeks to cover wider grounds in the study of civilizations. Hence, it seems to us that the services of anthropology is an essential requirement, at least at the early stages of designing the scheme in order to cover a broad spectrum of Indian culture and civilization.

Anthropologists generally view culture as the total achievements of the infinite human quest of improving the material artifacts, the organization of living, and spiritual knowledge. Culture, for them, is the sum total of what has been gained in peoples search for distinction from the other members of the animal kingdom. The organized pursuit of excellence in this search for distinction is, in the view of the author, what may be classified as civilization. In terms of this definition, in a given area a number of cultures, sharing between themselves certain elements as the essential mode of achieving this excellence, constitute the body of a civilization. Internally, these are marked off from one another by qualitative and/or quantitative differences in their individual-strivings or the total achievement of excellence and yet, at the same time, they are also distinct from the members of another family or civilization. For instance, we may say that Bengali culture is distinct in certain matters from Tamil culture or Punjabi culture, but they also share between themselves a number of cultural elements which are *essential* to them and in this they are also commonly marked off from, say, the Japanese culture or French culture. Therefore, it is the set of elements peculiar and essential to a civilization which distinguishes one family from the other.

A change in this set of elements or the distinctive features would eventually lead a civilization into another period of a distinguishable change. But in certain large geographical areas, it has often been found that certain elements, which may be called the core-elements of a civilization, persist from very ancient times. It is only in this context of the core-elements and the continuity that we may, therefore, be able to identify the Indian or Asian civilization. Otherwise, there have been civilizations which have long since disappeared, without the persistence of the core-elements; and, what we see around are altogether different kinds of civilizations growing up. Some of these may perhaps be most suitably termed as capitalist, socialist and communist civilizations.

Therefore, before we embark upon the actual excecution of a Sourcebook, we must first of all spell out in detail the characteristic features and contents of the core-elements which have consistently persisted in India and other areas of Asia, and which were sufficiently distinct during the Ancient period from the other civilizations of Europe or Africa. In short, we will need to define the core-elements in terms of their contribution to the essential components which go into the making of a civilization as an 'organic whole'. For instance, in each major field of creativity and social organization, there are several such elements which give it a characteristic form and these may be called as the core-elements. A set of such core-elements, with their many ramifications, tend to occupy a dominant position in the total organization of traditions. Therefore, whenever these core-elements cease to be dominant in the total structure of a civilization it changes, because a new set of core-elements come to the fore-front.

However, sometimes one of the core-elements may individually change without contributing towards any major change in a given civilization. For instance, the *jati-varna* system, which is a core-element of Indian civilization, has changed a good deal since Manu wrote his *Samhita,* or since the time it was first introduced. In modern India, the structure of *jati-varna* is certainly not the same as it was in 'Buddhist India'. At any rate, the economic function of *jati-varna* has lost much of its vitality because its members have drifted in large numbers to *non-jati* occupations. But a theologian or a pandit rationalizes this change by saying that such occupational mobility is not a recent phenomenon as a social scientist often thinks of it. The *Smritis* which assigned each *jati-varna* a hereditary occupation, have also allowed the members to go for other occupations at the time of crisis, known as their *apata-dharma.* Therefore, what the members of *jati-varna* are doing today in the choice of occupation is in close conformity with their *apata-dharma.* Thus, occupational change in the *jati-varna* has been rationalized in Hindu society by introducing the concept of *apata-dharma.* Indeed, this kind of rationalization bolsters the *jati-varna* system, for, so long as a change in the core-element is interpreted in the context of its original form the relevance of the old order continues. It is by this mechanism alone that the *jati-varna* system has been continually producing culturally patterned hereditary endogamous groups which have kept the basic, largely unchanged, format of Ancient Indian civilization.

Nevertheless, one cannot possibly deny the fact that in each civilization a number of elements are lost through the passage of time, without incurring much loss in the characteristics of that civilization. It is like the falling of old leaves of a tree before the new ones come into existence. However, this process is historically very important since only a review of the core-elements will enable us to know the processes by which they originated and developed in a civilization and were subsequently crushed by the wheel of time. For an historical analysis of this kind it becomes necessary for us to examine how certain elements have differed from one area to another, i.e. we have to understand the effect of mutual impact and also the range of interaction of cultures and civilization with each other. Thus, the proposed Sourcebook will need to keep on record not only what happened in the past but also what continues of the past into the present. The facts of the past should be drawn from authentic textual sources and the continuity in civilization may be explored from contextual studies.

The role of comparative methodology becomes crucial in this kind of approach. For example, one of the most important problems faced in the writing of a Sourcebook is, what *are* the characteristic features of an ancient civilization? To this, the answer may lie in searching out such aspects of a civilization as its "material-culture", or technology, organization of production, political system, and also its religious context. Some of the distinguishing features of Ancient and Modern Indian civilizations may be listed as follows:

ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILIZATION	MODERN INDIAN CIVILIZATION
Technology	
(1) Machine operated by manual labour.	Automatization of machine.
(2) Machine utilized to facilitate the collective way of life through handicraft.	Machine utilized as an agent to increase profit through large industries directed towards individual gain, mainly.
(3) Technology confined solely to its mechanical aspect; machine used by man.	Technology institutionalized, technology enters into man's decision-making process, exploitation of man by machine.
(4) Technology restricted to the material part of life, while religion, art and philosophy lay in the major context of human creativity.	Science and technology as the central pursuit of man.
Organization of Production	
(5) Occupation guided by social legislation, such as *jati-varna* system which provides hereditary monopolistic occupation to a group or community.	Occupation provided by the State/Private agencies to individuals and *not* to hereditary groups or communities.
(6) Concept of sacred and profane attached to productive occupation.	All productive occupations treated exclusively in the secular context.
(7) Distribution based on social arrangements of exchange and barter, such as the *jajmani system.*	Distribution based on the arrangements by the State or individual enterprises through monetary system.
(8) Community control over regional or local economy.	National economic organization.

Political System

(9) Ethnic loyalty; society politically organized under chieftains and/or caste/tribal councils.	Nationalism, or loyalty to nation; society organized under a national political system.
(10) Local and regional arrangements for administration and justice to manage individual ethnic groups.	Centrally organized national system of administration and justice applicable to all ethnic groups living within a comparatively large national boundary.

Religious Context

(11) Religion and Philosophy as the major concern of social organization.	Religion and Philosophy occupy a peripheral role in society; considered as an individual pursuit of knowledge, something "personal".
(12) Elites having a crucial role in society are philosophers, and religious specialists—wedded to a belief that the world is governed by supernatural power.	Elites having a crucial role in society are politicians, scientists and technocrats believing that the world is governed by scientific laws.

The above stated illustration of the, distinguishing characteristic features of Ancient and Modern civilization has, obviously, its limitations particularly in the case of a continuous civilization like that of India where both the Ancient and the Modern traits persist side by side. Therefore, any consideration of these features individually may place the same people at different time scales in this civilization. For instance, human groups which are wholly dependent on manual labour in the field of technology may not be essentially guided by social laws in the methods of production and distribution, rather they may be governed by laws of the State. Similarly, people making use of automatic machinery may strongly believe in supernaturalism. Under these and other circumstances, it seems difficult to have any rigid formulæ or a uniform model which is equally applicable to all kinds of civilizations. However, most such difficulties may be overcome if, while considering these features, we also examine a set of core-elements that have persisted in a civilization from ancient times and which the lay often refer to as their tradition. Thus, the boundary between Ancient and Modern civilization may be marked on the basis of the characteristic form accepted by a large number of people who play a dominant role in the transmission of the core-elements. In other words, it is important to study the social organization of the transmission of the core-elements. Therefore, the major shifts at this level of transmission may be actually considered in the phasing of a civilization.

In short, considering the resources and expert hands available, we may for the time being concentrate only on Ancient Indian civilization. In it, we should record (1) the core-elements that have given shape to a civilization called Indian civilization, (2) the elements which are peculiar to different cultures that have developed in India, and (3) the culture-contact elements which it shares with the other civilizations of Asia or Europe. Of course, the problem of diffusion must be given due attention in a Sourcebook for mapping out the civilization areas of the world.*

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*The ideas on the concept and treatment of civilization presented in this note, and elsewhere in this volume, are largely those which I have gathered under the feet of my guru Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose. If there is any ambiguity, the fault is entirely mine. While writing this note I have benefitted from the discussions with my very esteemed friend and colleague Dr. A. P. Rao, Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

On Defining Civilization

THE term civilization is related to the Latin adjective *civilis* and substantive *civilitas*[1], both of which indicate general qualities connected with the citizen (*civis*). *Civilitas,* which to the Romans was probably also an antithesis to their concept of barbarism, acquired new meaning in the Middle ages. *Humana civilitas* denotes in Dante's *De monarchia* "the largest and most comprehensive social entity rising above the individual, the family, the neighbourhood, and the nation".[2]

When Boswell introduced the term "civilization" into English the emphasis was on its being an antithesis to feudalism and "dark ages". Since then continuous attempts have been made to find out the true meaning of civilization. Students of different disciplines and sometimes of the same discipline have offered various definitions of the term. Nevertheless, it is now generally constrasted not with the ancient concept of barbarism or with the eighteenth century concept of an unenlightened state preceding the enlightenment, but with man's purely animal heritage or "with the anthropological and ethnological phenomenon of so-called primitive peoples".[3] The noticeable tendency among scholars is not to confine the meaning of the word concerned to the refinement of the citybred people, but to widen it sufficiently to denote the condition of a human community "characterized by political and social organization and order, advancement in knowledge, refinement, and the arts, and progress in general". The ever-expanding connotation of the term civilization now seems to include all kinds (or rather advanced types) of human progress, prompted mainly by man's mind and reason to meet his needs (mental, moral, technical and scientific) in a society.[4]

A comprehensive definition of civilization touches almost all the fields of human achievements. The most important of these may be classified as follows:

(a) urbanization with special reference to the development of city and town-planning; (b) evolution of rural life; (c) evolution of society with special references to the system of caste, education, status of women, etc.; (d) polity and public organizations; (e) political philosophy; (f) economic conditions —development of agriculture, industries and trade and medium of exchange; (g) religions and folk-cults; (h) evolution or religious thoughts and philosophical systems; (i) development of technology and science with special reference to the skillful use of fire and lighting equipment, evolution of the scripts and system of writing, etc.; (k) languages and literature; (i) art and architecture; (m) dance, drama and music; and (n) migration and dissemination of knowledge and ideas due to commercial or political contacts or movements of peoples and pilgrims between regions dominated by diverse civilizations (or cultures).

It is well-nigh impossible to note down in one single volume all the desirable details of man's activities in the various spheres of any particular civilization. The difficulty is faced by any cataloguer of the sources of ancient civilizations, even though he has not in his possession as many data as a student of modern civilization is likely to have. Moreover, the paucity of data often debars the former from portraying the true personality of an ancient civilization. These drawbacks must be taken into account by the compilers of a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian civilization.

NOTES

1. K. Funk *et al., Funk and Wangnall's New "Standard" Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. I, New York, 1949, p. 497; C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1962, p. 346; E. R. A. Seligman (chief editor), *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, vol. III, New York, 1937, p. 525.
2. E. R. A. Seligman, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 525-26.
3. *Ibid; Encyclopaedia Britannica* (edition of 1965), pp. 824 f.
4. For different definitions of the term civilization, see fn. 2 and 3. See also Guizot, *Civilization* (translated by Hazlitt), vol. I, p. 18, fn.; M. Arnold, *Civilization in U.S.*, 1888, p. 161; etc. To the sociologist L. H. Morgan, the "status of civilization" commenced from the invention "of an aphonetic alphabet and the production of literary records" (L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society, 2nd* edition, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 11-2). The archæologist V. Gordon Childe saw the essential characters of a civilization as an internal system of social-hierarchies, specialization, cities and large populations, and the growth of mathematics and writing.

   Scholars are not unanimous in their opinion about the relation between civilization and culture. The term "culture" is often used to indicate "a social grouping that is smaller than a civilization but larger than an industry". (C. Winick, *Dictionary of Anthropology*, New York, 1956, p. 145). "It is at times used synonymously with civilization." (E. R. A. Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 621; W. Geddie [editor], *Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary*, London, 1959, p. 257). The term culture, derived from Latin *cultura*, which means *inter alia* cultivation, may denote all that is cultivated (or learned) by man. Herskovits has characterised it as being learned, structured, divisible into aspects, dynamic, variable, and stemming from every component of human existence (M. J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, New York 1960,

p. 625). So, culture seems to indicate all patterns of human behaviour. If civilization is considered as being concerned with the advanced types of human progress, then a particular civilization may be taken as the culminating stage of a particular cultural revolution. Civilization is, therefore, concerned with special aspects of a more advanced culture (E. R. A. Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 621).

R. P. MANANDHAR

Civilization : The Importance of Myths

THE objective of the present seminar is avowedly to indicate and prepare ways and means towards a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian civilization. The omission of the word History in this context is significant, since it has too often been conventionalised into, firstly, in the early stages of historical writing as the formalised putting down of dynastic chronologies; secondly, at a later stage of development of nation-states, it is the lengthy discussions on political growths; and thirdly, even in comparatively recent times it is the description of economic developments, social unrest, upheavals, and any resultant stabilities wherever discernible. History, however, in the "real" sense ought to be, and is being increasingly taken as, a delineation in time and space of the civilization attained by the people or peoples populating the region dealt with; the gradual or speedy course of that attainment; the ends pursued, the means employed, and the attainments realised. Civilization, in a way, sums up the totality of the enduring achievements of a people or of a number of peoples with allied or similar means and ends.

When we bring in the term civilization, the historical picture at once becomes not only broader but much deeper as well. It is like putting aside several layers or veils of misunderstanding or partial understanding of the past. When we have thrown away the veil of dynastic tabulations, we come to the next veil —with the emphasis on political and economic developments. When we have put aside this veil also, we come nearer the real inner core of history which is the civilization of the people. But, of course, we do not get to know the real soul of the people unless we enter into their innermost thoughts and their actuations which concretise themselves in the course of historical periods into recognizable patterns of culture, since culture is what inspires and motivates the forms of civilization which are, so to say, its outer habiliments.

This unveiling or peeling off process becomes all the more necessary as we try to understand the ancient past. Historians as well as their readers have now arrived at a stage when what is called merely objective history fails to satisfy. It is as if one wants to understand the personality of an individual, while only his clothing or his dress is offered to the view. Shall we not take up, for instance, the civilization which has evolved through the ages in the Indian subcontinent and the cultural inspirations which have gone into its making since the most ancient past? Dynasties and even great political and economic systems are only its outer garbs; Indian civilization would be something interior to them and yet inclusive of them all, their inspirer as well as their best visible form. Objective writing of history sounds all right, but the modern reader exercises the right of asking:—objective writing of what aspect of history? A drain may be objectively described, and so maybe the innermost soul of a people. While the first may be part of the economic or social structure of a people, the second would certainly form the history of its civilization.

No lesser a historian than Arnold Toynbee thinks that historians "have been thinking in abstract terms and experimenting with the play of soul-less forces —*Vis Inertiae and Race and Environment*". Now that these manoeuvres have ended, one after another, in our drawing blank, we may pause to consider whether our successive failures may not point to some mistake in method. Perhaps, under the insidious influence of the spirit of an outgoing age, we have fallen victims to the Apathetic Fallacy. Have we not been guilty of applying to historical thought, which is a study of living creatures, a scientfic method of thought which has been devised for thinking about Inanimate Nature? In making a final attempt to solve the riddle that has been baffling us, let us follow Plato's lead and try the alternative course. Let us shut our eyes, for the moment, to the formulae of science in order to open our ears to the language of mythology!

In the days when there was a dearth of books, the easiest way to propagate knowledge of history among the people was through mythology, myths being the language of symbols. Instead of the ever-increasing multiplication of books as is the case now-a-days, there was the inverse method of distilling all knowledge into its essences, and these essences themselves were put into the form of symbols so that books could be done away with whenever expedient. In spite of the enormous availability of paper and printing at present, this process of symbols is to some extent visible even today in the formulae and code-languages of the different physical sciences, as verbal explanations cannot cope with the numerous abstruse developments of these sciences. After all, the main thing it to get ideas across from person to person by whatever process that is the most handy at the moment, taking in resources of the period into account. Besides, the symbolical method of description is a more human method and thus more easily assimilated by the people. The time seems certainly to have arrived when historians dealing with the ancient period of history should painstakingly and scrupulously make the maximum utilization of the so-called myths of olden times. In these old stories are embedded some real gems of history. An additional gleam of light may be thrown by the old myths, illuminating ancient history and adding greatly to our understanding of Indian civilization.

Mythology is the field in which pearls of great price await the historical explorer specially in India, as the Ancient Indians were very fond of putting mighty historical facts in the garb of symbolical stories. To illustrate, call it mythology or by any other name without elaborating, there is the well-known life-history of that great 'historical' personage whom Indians of almost all shades of belief respect as *Shiva.* Thus, in so far as the writing of the history of India has flowed along the conventional channels indicated by Western writers, it has erred even till recently in the directions of political, economic, and sociological scholarship. Not that the cultural streams have been forgotten; on the contrary, many theses have been elaborated upon them but these, unfortunately, have largely been treated as separate from the main historic texture itself. Therefore, it may be worth our while to concentrate on those areas and fields in the Indian sub-continent where the essential culture of the entire people has sprung up, apart from the areas where Indian civilization in its more material forms has developed and expanded, viz., see elsewhere in this volume my paper on Nepal.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL LIMITS

BARUN DE

Encapsulation as an Alternative to the Difficulties of Periodising Indian History

(i) *General Difficulties*

The thoughts expressed here are those of a student of modern Indian history, and of industrial and constitutional history in particular. These thoughts are, therefore, before you in the role of a consumer; one who will use the Source-book if it is published in order to find out the main elements of continuity in Indian culture and in its relationship with Asian countries. Elsewhere, it has been stated by this author that any historian is a producer, one who supplies data to the general public, for use in thinking about their cultural heritage. To complete the analogy, the general public for the purpose of this Seminar, may be viewed as the consumer in a market place.[1]

The market place is our daily existence. In our daily existence and in the organization of our national life, actions are continually validated by examples and analogies from the past. Some believers in the sanctity of the Indian cow might like the deletion of a reference (in a NCERT history text book meant for children) to the slaughtering of cows for guests in Ancient Indian homes or hermitages. Some believers in the un-Indianness of communism have recently plastered the walls of North Calcutta with slogans that we should, in a mood of nostalgia, look back to the past, for a way out of the present, and into the future. There is the case of a large semi-government organization in 1963 which wanted to hire a scholar to write a history of the commodity with which it was concerned, so as to prove that this commodity went from India to China in ancient times, and returned from China to India only in the more degenerate present form. The present, after all, is the market place where, to elaborate this analogy which might appear very vulgar to historians of Ancient India, the historian sells his wares. Implicit in this analogy is a belief in the definition of history, admirably put by Professor E. H. Carr in his *George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures* in the University of Cambridge, 1961. According to him, history, in both the senses of the word—(1) enquiry conducted by the historian and (2) the effect of the past into which he enquires—"is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his fact, an unending dialogue between the present and past . . . a dialogue between the events of the past and progressively emerging future ends. . . . To enable man to understand the society of the past and to increase the mastery over the society of the present is the dual function of history".[2] It is in terms of this definition that certain propositions shall be developed further here, in order to raise some important questions regarding the chronological and geographical scope of a Sourcebook.

We are concerned, today, with the problem of the study of Ancient Indian and other Asian civilizations. It is clear that this is because our concern relates to the contemporary scene. Therefore, any allocation of scarce IVth Plan resources to write a Sourcebook means that today we consider it of national importance to work towards proper perspectives of Indian and other Asian civilizations. But this perspective cannot, obviously, be limited in terms only of the Ancient Period. However, even if the perspective is limited to an Ancient Period, our development will then have to be primarily viewed as an inheritance from the ancient past. A proposition, implicit in this logic, whether we look at India in particular or at Asia in general is, that whatever has followed the ancient past is an accretion to it, that the Medieval and Modern ages are logical continuities which can be extrapolated from an intensive study of *only our ancient heritage.* Of course, such logic could be rebutted by such propositions as, (i) since ancient times there have been qualitative changes in continuity, (ii) the coming of medievalism represents one such significant break, and, (iii) that with each break we have made significant leaps along the "arrow line of time". Differences are possible, in terms of this logic, about whether the leaps have been forward or backward. Such questions are bound to occur if we study the ancient past as a present National Plan priority.

Any book with such objectives is bound to supply material for people anxious to prove one or the other aspect of the answers to these kinds of questions. Whatever may be the aims, a Sourcebook will be presented subjectively—whether historians of ancient times like it or not, and despite all disclaimers that some of them may make about their own research findings being not necessarily relevant to present-day life, it will act as fuel for igniting new controversies about the way in which Ancient Indian life and culture led to the present one. The Vedantabadee may use it to show the excellence of Vedantabad over present-day trends. The Marxists may use it to show the primitiveness of Indian life compared to the currently predominant mode of production. The relics of the believers in the concepts published by Adyar and the Greater Indian Society may use it to prove that however tarnished may be the image of India in the race for Asian self-sufficiency, it was actually India which had supplied culture to the rest of Asia in Ancient times!

The point in making these very general comments at the outset is to emphasize the problems of the relevance of a Sourcebook for today. Whatever is written ought to be relevant to the contemporary situation. But, on the other hand, the problem of its relevance is bound to arouse controversies about national identity. Such controversies, needless to say, are the spice of life in a democracy, without which our citizens would have no choice about the ideologies to which they wish to affiliate in their resolution of individual identity conflicts. It would only be a totalitarian state which uses the surplus of government funds in a society of chronic scarcity, to push a particular identity or brand loyalty in the market for history books. Let us, however, at least be clear that no dictatorial presuppositions are implanted in our plans, and *it should neither be about what is best in our cultural heritage, nor about only one element in our culture.* Such premises may be worked out by private agencies, such as the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in its series on *The History and Culture of the Indian People* or in its low-priced pamphlets about the Hindu (Indian) heritage. But a democratic government of a scarcity economy can hardly even appear to take sides in such controversies. Therefore, a Sourcebook should be about the *origins* of our present culture.

Let us illustrate this point further by focussing our attention on the problem of determining the chronological scope of the Ancient Period in India. There is a well-known controversy about whether the Ancient Period in India ended or not with the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan by Muhammad bin Sam of Ghor at the battle of Tarain in 1207. The controversy is generally stated in terms of one difficulty. Can Ancient India be equated with the predominance of Hinduism as the religious principle by which Indians guided their lives? If Ancient India means the Hindu Period, Muslims in India are inevitably called upon to historically identify themselves with a past of an alien conquest and, logically, also then have to accept the role of being a group which was ousted by the Christian rulers of British India. Such logic leads to the acceptance of the two-nation theory, and it was the rationality of Pakistan. Hence, we must seriously take into account the fact that if we make 1207 A.D., the *terminus ad quem* of the Ancient Period, might not it force Muslim Indians, to develop again a split in common identity? Nevertheless, since it is manifestly not the purpose of the Government of India to foster split identity in the psychological elements of nationality, let us hope that 1207 A.D. will not be a *terminus ad quem* of our planned Sourcebook.

Furthermore, even the proponents of the view that Hinduism is the essential element of Indian culture have given up the identification of Hinduism with the Ancient Period. R. C. Majumdar, the general editor of the Vidya Bhawan History series, writes: "The popular notion that after the conquest of Muhammad Ghuri, India formed a Muslim Empire under various dynasties, is hardly borne out by facts. It has been shown that the major part of India remained free from Muslim domination till almost the very end of the thirteenth century A.D."[3] Ignoring for the moment, the premise which is worked out in this statement, we might emphasize some other difficulties about making Tarain as the end of Ancient Indian civilization.

Firstly, even if in the 14*th* century Muslims had dominated the polity of India, did this mean the end of all that was Ancient in Indian life? Even if we accept Majumdar's theory that after the end of the thirteenth century the Muslims had become the ruling people and the Hindus a subject race,[4] we would still have to prove that Islam was a predominant factor, excluding Hinduism from that place, in the life of the common people. Unless this can be proved, the ruler-ruled relationship is irrelevant from the point of view of either culture continuity or culture break. Did the general Muslim predominance in Bengal by the end of the thirteenth century mean that Muslim cultural influences of the Bengal 'Life-Style' now was only Muslim? But contrary results may be found in the ongoing research work. For example, take a recent study of architectural styles and their social context with reference to the case of temple-building in Medieval Bengal. A composite style of temple-building developed in Bengal at this time, as a result of the admixture of Muslim (i.e. West Asian) and local (which were not necessarily pan-Indian) architectural styles. This regional style was a product of local propensities for social compromise. Therefore, the break, which is implied in the distinction between Ancient and Modern, is not clear as may be seen between the temples found in the Hindu Period and in the Sultanate Period. Some changes in the form may be certainly found in terms of this distinction. But they are more the expression of the crystalization of regional identity, which had embryonically grown in the womb of the Ancient Period itself, and had developed in the Pala and Sena eras.[5] If such studies could be made region-wise for the entire Indian subcontinent, then the question of political predominance, which varied between Muslims and Hindus from region to region in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, may not be considered to be the most important variable in any examination of qualitative social changes. Moreover, only a little is known of the early history of the Vijayanagar Empire, which is erroneously placed in the Medieval period even though it was not any less 'Ancient' than the civilization of the Hoysalas, or even of the Cholas in Tamilnad. Obviously, therefore, there is a great need for comparative studies, such as between the so-called Ancient and Medieval periods of civilization in India.

In fact, using a similar logic, one could question even the efficacy of following the more modern trend among Indian historians of starting Medievalism in the 6*th* or 7*th* century. The reasoning that they use is that the Gupta Period saw the definition of the Classical norms in North India, and these standards were to prove to be normative in the history of the succeeding centuries until the culture-shock which was provided by British rule. However, this sort of periodisation is at least more consistent than the one which pulls Ancient India down to the completion of the Muslim conquest at the end of the thirteenth century. But, still, some problems would remain. Were the Classical norms set in South India by the end of the *7th* century, or much later in the Pallava-Chola-Hoysala period? Or, were they set in the Sangam Age; and is literature of the Sangam Age to be related to the pre-Christian period or to the Gupta epoch? It is only if the last point is true that the Gupta period might mark the end of an all-India Classical period. Otherwise, it might be difficult to have more than two similar periods in a common realm. And when we deal with a set of realms, such as Asia, then the problem is multiplied and magnified. Again, do we know enough about the *5th* and *6th* centuries to call it a 'normative period', has enough detailed research been done which shows qualitative differences between Indian culture in the *5th* century and in the *8th* century?

In short, we feel that Ancient and Medieval are comparative terms, essentially dependent on inverse relationships. Their adjectival use is dependent on the proof of such inverse relationships in a sequential order for specific areas. It is only when such proofs are given that one period in that area may be called Ancient to the exclusion of the other. It is only when such proofs are available in details that we may decide on the periodisation of a Sourcebook.

(ii) *Techno-Economic Changes and Periodisation*

It has been shown that the period of the Delhi Sultanate, based on the Central Gangetic region, was a watershed in Indian History. It is fairly clear, according to Niharranjan Ray, that the various technological changes in this period brought a verve and dynamism to Indian culture which gave it the ephemeral appearance of progress. But this trend was stultified, he feels, by a Brahmanical reaction fostered by the *zamindars* and the early Mughal Emperors in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Indian culture underwent one of its chronical periods of retrogression, so typical of the peculiarities of Indian backwardness.[6] Be that as it may, a hypothesis which requires almost a monograph before it is widely accepted, it may also be pointed out that qualitative changes in the material aspects of Indian culture in pre-modern times has been related by Irfan Habib to the diffusion of technological innovations from West Asia, such as the changes brought about by the Persian wheel, the mechanism of the handloom, paper production, time-keeping etc. These items, which may be dated to a period both before and after the thirteenth century, led to a radical increase of the crops available from subsistence production, and of administrative power and labour discipline. These were the prerequisites of new forms of social organisation that are the hall-mark of Medieval civilization in India, and are evidenced first during the Muslim rule in West Asia.[7] These changes probably followed the advent of Muslim rule in India. However, in many cases, the actual changes of technology were the results of a minute diffusion from one region to another, perhaps which spread in terms of the reception of an innovation by the common producer over a whole century or more. This type of technological diffusion is ever hardly the result of a fiat or even the result of a military conquest, specially because the West Asian tribes in the beginning were not politically interested in radically altering the mode of production that they had exploited. On the other hand, they were the beneficiaries of these changes, to the extent that they made purposive use of the results, and thus commanded more resources than could be exploited by the more "Ancient-rooted" local chiefs who preferred to remain immersed in tradition and often ritualistic methods of government. In effect, qualitative changes in a civilization and political revolutions can never be worked out in the simple terms of a correlation of the co-efficients.

(iii) *Conclusion*

The problem of the *terminus ad quem* thus remains unsolved. If it is not Tarain, is it before or after ? How does one give guidelines on this subject ? The answer one might give, as a consumer of past history, would be to emphasize comparative studies between styles of culture, production systems and the resultant political organization, before we even begin to determine the chronological scope of the book.

In any discussion of such questions, two points must be cleared. Firstly, the terms Ancient, Medieval and Modern are adjectives. They refer to some attributes. These attributes have often been derived with reference to some West European cultures, which originate in the Greco-Roman (mark, not only Greek, or only Roman, but *a composite cultural*) heritage. But do we make sure what these attributes are, when we apply them to countries such as even Russia or China or continents such as North America which have not undergone the experience of a succession reaching back to antiquity, of clear qualitative changes that are implicit in the course of West European History ?

It is, of course, possible to vary attributes for different circumstances, and to still use for all of them, the same label. For instance, we may think of the Ancient Period in North America (a congeries of societies with different primitive modes of production), the Medieval Period there (from the origins of the American Indian political organization to the growth of science, technology, rationalism, anti-Puritanism and anti-landlordism in the European colonies) and of its Modern Period (from the War of American Independence onwards).

But when we try to apply the trichotomous principles of periodisation to a country like India, then the specification of attributes becomes even more difficult. For example, the use of the term Modern India seems at first to be relatively easy. In describing it, the factors which seem to predominate are urbanisation, industrialisation, spread of modern technology, secularism, national unity and the use of regional vernaculars. Therefore, in seeking the historical origins of our modern developments, we must go back to whenever these factors may be first discerned. But locating all these factors is not an easy task, i.e., in terms of a unified system of origin. Thus, there is a controversy about the origins of urbanisation in India which no one has yet settled; 1851 is only one of the dates accepted for the origins of modern industrialisation; the dates of the origins of secularism in India are as yet unknown; should 1885—the foundation of the Congress—be or not be the origin of the definitive use of regional vernaculars (dates of which are not yet settled)? etc. The only common aspect of all the above stated factors is that they add up to what today we are apt to call as Modern. But, how Modern are we today, compared on a scale of development, which includes, say, Western Europe, the U.S.A., Russia and China ?

The problem becomes even more difficult when we delineate the attributes of Medievalism or Ancientness (antiquity), since these are essentially backward projections of what we consider today to be Modern. There is a large element of subjectivism even in the attributes for what is considered to be Modern. But backward projections are likely to be doubly biased in their selectivity. Or, to put the question back on the plane of vulgar analogy, what is one man's medievalism, is another man's antiquity!

There is a second possibility which must be considered in this question of chronology. Labels based on West European educational models are used in an omnibus way alike for literature, art style, religion, philosophy and historical methodology. Moreover, these labels are not necessarily relevant to different Asian and specifically Indian circumstances. It is possible that in India the changes in culture, production systems or political organization have rarely taken place as clearly defined sets of circumstances, which alone can lead to the sort of—what is called by the French Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser in his book *For Marx*[8]—*coupure* or break with a past, which is implicit in the concept of a Classical Period as distinct from the other eras. Perhaps, the Ancient Period in Indian history is prior to 1815-20, and the Medieval should be between 1815-20 to the present day. If this is so, then the trichotomous classification of attributes becomes meaningless for the purpose of periodisation. The investigation of the components of encapsulation in any one era becomes more meaningful. (The use of the word "encapsulation" is based on the analogy of two or more pharmaceutical compounds in one tablet or capsule. Sometimes this composite is made vivid by the presence of two or three colours on the outside of the capsule. But often it has to be worked out from an analysis of the compound.) This encapsulation of predominant traits has been worked out in the case of Czarist Russia in terms of "the law of combined uneven development" by Leon Trotsky.[9] Combined uneven development implies that not one of the traits struggling for predominance are able to emerge as victors over long centuries of the history of an area. In the course of Western European development, slavery as a form of production defeated the tribal system in ancient Rome, guild-organization commerce defeated the slave labour latifundia of late ancient Europe, and industrial and financial capital was forced back to the wall in modern Europe since all life was based on mercantile capital. Thus periods based on these predominant civilization characteristics can be clearly demarcated in Europe.

In India, however, the encapsulation of values and systems of action which is generally attributed to different periods under the trichotomous periodisation, leading to the maintenance of obsolescence, has been the rule till very recent times. This is because of (a), chronic poverty which prevents social and economic development and (b), charitable considerations which arise from a consciousness of all pervading scarcity that makes it difficult to destroy obsolescence. The result has been our constant attempt to reconcile old forms with new urges. Towns have been built on the rubble of old ones, temples refashioned and given a spurious past, and history manufactured for what never existed. This tendency towards the encapsulation of styles and production systems are the other side of the medal or, perhaps, even the basis of the peculiar Indian trait known as synthesis or assimilation.[10]

Hence, it is worthwhile delving into all these matters, if only to understand where cultural traditions—such as the ones just referred to—begin, and what exactly they mean in our heritage. But unless we are prepared to redefine our conceptual models for periodisation and to scrap the Western European trichotomous model, it will be difficult to know when they began. However, if we could work out examples of encapsulation, and show how they have operated in past ages, this would be a service to students who have to analyse Indian history and culture. For instance, by means of a set of texts, the late Professor Kosambi had illustrated his theory about the changing meaning of the Bhagavad Gita in the Ancient and Medieval Periods, not to speak of the Modern Age.[11] Thus, it will be clear that a Sourcebook should not be a simple text-book. It should be one which illustrates, through case studies, the stagnation or growth of Ancient Indian culture in terms of pattern variables.

Finally, the question of when Indian culture was Ancient and when it stopped being so, would be less worthwhile than an enquiry into the *origins* of later developments. This would enable us to use our knowledge of Ancient India to explain how—to use the words of Karl Marx—*Le mort saisit le vid,* "the dead holds the living in its grip"—India constitutes, today, a salient case of "the law of combined development of backward countries—in the sense of a peculiar mixture of backward elements with the most modern factors".[12] This would enable historians to rebut the charge once made against history by an eminent Indian Plan bureaucrat: "Why learn from history: think only of present needs, when you fashion the future."[13]

NOTES

1. Cf. Welcome Address by B. De in *Historical Models of Tradition and Change in India*. Transactions of the I.I.A.S. Simla, under preparation.
2. E. H. Carr, *What is History* (London, 1961) pp. 49, 24, 118, 49: This collection of quotations will conveniently be found in V. B. Singh "On Economic History" in *Economic History of India*, 1857-1956 (ed. by V. B. Singh, Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1965, pp. 2-3).
3. R. C. Majumdar, Preface to *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay. *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (1960), p. xxiii.
4. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.
5. I am indebted to Shri H. Sanyal, who is a member of the History Group in the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, and whose book is now assisted by a research grant from the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, for allowing me to read some of his conclusions. I gratefully acknowledge the help that Shri Sanyal has given me be re-reading several drafts of this paper and giving me very constructive criticisms of my half formed ideas.
6. Detailed references to this hypothesis will be found scattered in different places. Professor Ray's *Bangalir Itihas Adiparva* (Calcutta, 1949), passim: his Presidential Address to the *Indian History Congress*, Patiala Session, 1967 (Patna, 1969), *passim :* and his forthcoming book on the *Social Context of Sikhism, passim.*
7. Irfan Habib, Presidential Address to the *Medieval Indian Section of the Indian History Congress*, Banaras Session, 1969 (available in booklet form).
8. London, Allen Lane and Penguin Press, 1969.
9. Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution* (tr. from Russian by Max Eastman, London, Victor Gollancz, first edn. 1932-33, Second impression of reissue, 1965), pp. 26-7: "A backward country assimilates the natural and intellectual conquests of the advanced countries. But this does not mean that it follows them slavishly, reproduces all the stages of their past . . . . The privilege of historic backwardness —and such a privilege exists—permits, or rather compels, the adoption of whatever is ready in advance of any specified date, skipping a whole series of intermediate stages. Savages throw away their bows and arrows for rifles all at once, without travelling the road which lay between those two weapons in the past. The development of historically backward nations leads necessarily to a peculiar combination of different stages in the historic process. Their development as a whole acquires a planless, complex combined character. The possibility of skipping over intermediate steps is of course by no means absolute. Its degree is determined in the long run by the economic and cultural capacities of the country. The backward nation, moreover, not infrequently debases the achievements borrowed from outside in the process of adapting them to its own more primitive culture. In this, the very process of assimilation acquires a self-contradictory character. The laws of history have nothing in common with a pedantic schematism. Unevenness, the most general law of the historic process, reveals itself most sharply and complexly in the destiny of the backward countries. Under the whip of external necessity, their backward culture is compelled to make leaps. From the universal law of unevenness thus

derives another law, which for lack of a better name, we may call the law of *combined development*—by which we mean a drawing together of different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms."

10. The clearest statement of this is to be found in the writings of D. D. Kosambi, "India is a country of long survivals. People of the atomic age rub elbows with those of the chalcolithic time. The vast majority of countryside gods are still daubed with a red pigment, that it is a palpable substitute for long-vanished blood sacrifices would not come as a shock to many devotees. One finds rites practised, which clearly go back to the stone age, though the votaries—often people with a modern education—are not conscious of the incredibly long continuity. Such practices may have no foundation in Brahmin Scriptures, but other portions of Sanskrit ritual works show equally primitive sacraments adopted at almost all the periods down to the last century. Formulae from the Rigveda are still recited, after three millennia at orthodox Hindu marriage and funeral ceremonies for the higher castes, but the same rities often show features that have no Vedic justification whatever, practised with the same earnestness as the documented Vedic portion, without incongruity or contradiction being felt by the participant." *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1956). Also of similar examples in Kosambi, "Science and Freedom" reprinted from *Vijanan-Karmee* IV, October, 1952, p. 6-11 in *Exasperating Essays, in the Dialectical Method* (Poona, no date).
11. D. D. Kosambi, in *Myth and Reality* reprinted from the *Journal of Social and Economic History of the Orient.*
12. Trotsky, *op. cit.* p. 72.
13. This statement was made by Shri Pitambar Pant at a Seminar on Industrial location, sponsored by the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, in Delhi in 1964, criticising an attempt made by this writer—perhaps quite unsuccessfully—to argue that modern problems of industrial dispersion in India were the result of the encapsulation of long ages of trade concentration in some enclaves of the Indian land mass; and that this encapsulation itself prevented the dispersion of the trading group into new agglomerations.

B. D. CHATTOPADHYAYA

The Chronological and Geographical Scope

THE focal point of this note is India, not because it is taken here as the cultural focal point of Asia but because the knowledge of the present writer is essentially limited to early Indian materials. Besides, he lacks that 'inside knowledge' about other Asian countries. If we go by that logic, the problem at least of the periodization of other Asian civilizations may best be left to be tackled by the cultural historians of those other countries. The first part of this note concerns itself with the chronological range of the proposed Sourcebook, while the second half on Asia partly proceeds from the first.

Periodization in Indian history has, with the exception of a few recent endeavours, been usually based on the simplistic device of dividing the entire range of Indian history into three periods, according to the nationality or the professed religion of its rulers: Hindu, Muslim and British. Although this old-fashioned periodization is tending to be replaced by the more appropriate divisions of Ancient, Medieval and Modern, yet any consensus for delineating the border-lines between these periods has yet to be achieved. Moreover, if our proposed Sourcebook is chiefly concerned with documenting early civilizations, is it necessary that periodization, as is done in the discipline of history, should be accepted for the periodization of civilizations as well? This is not at all to dispute the organic relationship between different areas of historical studies, but to emphasize the need to attempt a definition even of a roughly integrated area, which may help us to mark off the Ancient Period of Indian history and civilization. Therefore, a solution which is simply in the form of making the archaic periodization—Hindu, Muslim, and British, corresponding to Ancient, Medieval and Modern respectively—would be too facile. If this, the most crucial area of the problem which involves deciphering the 'connotative significance' of the expressions, Ancient, Medieval and Modern, is taken up for discussion it will perhaps be found that in the context of Indian historiography it needs a great deal of further exploration, before we may be able to proceed with our project.

In some recent historical writings attempts have been made to identify the 'medieval factor' in Indian history. If the premises advanced in them are found to be acceptable, the Ancient phase will emerge albeit by a somewhat uncertain contrast. What emerges from these studies is that the beginnings of medievalism in India did not coincide with the advent of Islam but it may, on the contrary, be traced back to the period which followed the decline of the Guptas. Politically this medievalism is considered to be equivalent to quasi-feudalism with its alleged centrifugality in power structure both in ideology and culture to regionalism, which took perhaps a few centuries more to shape itself in sharp contours. At the present state of Ancient Indian historiography the point thus made above seems to be valid and may perhaps be substantiated more fully if it is studied in depth. Despite certain aspects which are noted about the devolution towards natural economy in the post-Gupta period it is really hard to say if, on the whole, the common individual's material life altered very much over the centuries since the beginning of the historical period. But the Classical attainments of Indian civilization now clearly began to lead to regional identities; this, despite perhaps the absence of a major departure from the earlier overall ethos of Indian civilization, may be considered as a catalytic factor.

The historians of Indian civilization agree more or less unanimously upon the Gupta period as the Classical period of Indian civilization. It was not merely a period of synthesis, the process of syncretism being ever present as a historical expedient, but of perhaps something beyond, where the process of synthesis achieved one of its best results in Indian history. Here, again, it is difficult to underline to what extent the technological base of the civilization of this period was different from the others. Nevertheless, all the attainments of the preceding periods, technological or otherwise, emerged in their final shape in it. This may or may not have much to do with the attempt of the North Indian Guptas to accommodate varying territorial elements in their empire, but it seems that Indian civilization in this period fulfilled the major task of stocktaking and in the process emerged in a clear and standard shape; the literary tradition had reached its Classical apex, the epics had attained their standard forms, the existing legal prescriptions and a knowledge of the positive sciences and technology were codified, and the synthesis in art forms had set a standard which was to be copied and metamorphosed into a stylized rigidity by later generations. What followed the Gupta period was, with exceptions, a repetitiveness which drew on the image that had already developed and matured in the Gupta period. The eager and accommodating spirit present in early Indian civilization, despite the condescending inhibitions of "*madhya-desa*", Brahmanism lost itself gradually perhaps mainly through political reasons, so that there reached a stage when, in 10*th*-11*th* centuries, Indians were accused of vanity and insularity by such observers as *Al-Biruni.*

If the *terminus ad quem* of the chronology for the proposed Sourcebook is accepted as the end of the Gupta period or roughly 600 A.D., what should be the starting point of this chronological range? Going back from the comparatively well-documented Gupta period through the stretch of millennia to explore the genesis of Indian civilization is no easy task, but some consensus may be expected to be reached if an unequivocal statement is made regarding what significance the concept of civilization should assume in the Indian context. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on how the word civilization should be used for our purpose since the chief problem here would be to decide whether or not to bring the nuclear human groups or societies of history, which chronologically preceded the first recognizable Indian civilization, within the scope of a Sourcebook. But in view of the important light shed on the vast body of pre-civilizational evidence, the inseparability in many cases of the so-called Great and Little traditions and of the survivals of the archaic but living forms of culture into our own times, it will be proper to include a selective representation of such a background phase in a Sourcebook. The decision, to reiterate, will depend on how we use the term civilization for our Sourcebook, and on whether we find any scheme of periodization useful at all. If our intention is to present the material within a historical-chronological framework, then one would suggest that the range start around 2500 B.C. This will lead us back to the intermediary passage beween what Wheeler terms the period of 'cultural optimum' and the first recognizable phase of Indian civilization.

II

The next problem we face is, whether it is a feasible proposition to cover the whole of Ancient Asia in one Sourcebook project. Assuming that it is feasible, it should preferably be carried out under different volumes on the different areas of Asia, not necessarily a volume each on every recognizable Ancient Asian civilization. The reasons for this suggestion are both practical and ideological. The practical difficulties which are likely to be confronted in compiling a single volume of source material on Asian civilizations may be enumerated as below:

1. The chronological framework which may be accepted for Ancient Indian civilization (c. 2500 B.C.—600 A.D. as has been suggested here) may not be expected to hold good for other Asian countries as well. Without going into any kind of detail, the problem may be illustrated by referring to two countries. According to a recognized writer on Iran, the first civilization in that country may be traced back to around 4000 B.C.; he

closes his book on early Iran with the decline of the Sassanids around the middle of the *7th* century. In China, on the other hand, civilization starts, even according to traditional reckoning (now substantiated by archeological records) somewhere around the middle of the second millennuim B.C. To a casual reader of Chinese history it is difficult to detect when the early period of its civilization ends because, if the *T'ang* period (618-906) is assumed to have been the 'normative period' in Chinese history, the process of the crystallization of early Chinese civilization may be said to have extended to the beginning of the tenth century. It is uncertain, however, if everyone would agree upon these dates.

2. Such material as may be accommodated within a single volume of a Sourcebook is likely to be very much selective in nature. If we are to work on the assumption that every civilization is the embodiment of a growth process, then it should be a valid concern for every Sourcebook compiler to view and present it in its proper perspective along the 'arrow-line' of its historical development. From that standpoint, a single volume even for India alone may be considered inadequate. As a Sourcebook may be expected to be somewhat comprehensive in scope, areas for which single volumes may be considered necessary and planned accordingly will have to be defined.

The ideological reasons stem from the impression that historical studies so far have thought in terms of different Ancient Asian civilizations and not of one recognizable Asian civilzation. "Politically and historically the continent of Asia is little more than an academic abstraction." Therefore, unless empirical studies have established genuine homogeneity between such disparate civilizations as Chinese, Iranian and Indian, Ancient Asian civilization would be a forced, preconceived and perhaps only strenuously substantiable image. Toynbee's point, made in a different context about the 'unity of civilization', would be valid here, "the thesis of the unity of civilization . . . is a misconception into which our modern Western historians have been led by the influence of their social environment on their thought . . . the view that 'civilization' is a species of society that has only one representative which is *ex hypothesi* unique of its kind is an error which can only be entertained by taking a distorted view of history". And, again, with reference to the theorists of Western civilization, "Having thus exaggerated the range in Time and Space of a phenomenon in their environment which is really still recent and superficial and which may prove to be transient, they have interpreted to mean that Civilization (in the singular and with a capital 'C') is not merely a species of societies but is to be identified with a single particular society, that this concrete unique Civilization is in essence one and indivisible; that after a long probation it has fulfilled its destiny at last by attaining world dominion in our day through our exertions . . .".

All this, however, is not to suggest that a Sourcebook should be planned for each individual country or every recognizable civilization in Asia. That, from the simple practical point of view, would be too unwieldy a task. On the other hand, the problem of deciding upon a criterion whereby Asia can be divided into a number of meaningful areas acceptable for our purpose must be probed properly. Reference may be made here to the divisions enumerated in the relevant section of the *Encyclopædia Britannica;* they are somewhat similar to the scheme in L. Dudley Stamp's *Asia: A Regional and Economic Geography,* although Stamp's terminology is different:

1. a. Northern Siberia and b. Inland Asia, 2. East Asia, 3. Indian subcontinent, 4. South-East Asia, and 5. South-West Asia.

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B. N. MUKHERJEE

On Periodization

THE periodization of India's past is not an easy task. Infact, since history implies a continuous process, it will be pseudo-scientific to postulate any particular time limit for the growth and decline of all aspects of any particular civilization. Examples may be cited from the pages of Indian history. While the emergence of regional styles in art and architecture are witnessed in the *7th*-*8th* century A.D.,[1] the "New Indo-Aryan stage in the history of the Aryan speech was reached a few centuries later, about A.D. 1000".[2] Similarly, we cannot fix any particular date marking the stagnation or decay of all, or the majority of the features of Ancient Indian civilization.

However, as the growth of different limbs of a civilization is often conditioned by political climate, we may, for the sake of convenience, rely on political events to provide the chronological framework of Ancient Indian civilization. The establishment of Islam as the most dominant political power in the Indian subcontinent in the 12*th*-13*th* century perhaps signifies the end of an age and the beginning of another. No doubt, Islam got its first political foothold in the subcontinent as early as the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., which had been again preceded earlier by commercial and cultural contacts between them. The early stages of the development of many important political aspects of Islamic India can be traced to periods earlier than the 12*th* or the 13*th* century A.D. Thus, the regional consciousness of the subcontinent, dominated by Islam, had been in operation in Indian history since the age of the tripartite struggle (involving the Pratiharas, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas), if not from still earlier times. Nevertheless, the establishment of the political hegemony of Islam may be considered of greater significance than any other factor in the political history of the immediately preceding centuries.[3]

It is, therefore, expedient to extend the period of our enquiry upto about the end of the 12*th* century A.D. The *terminus ad quem* of our study may be the Harappan Civilization, even though all of the characteristics of Early

Indian civilization certainly did not originate with it. But it is—none-the-less—the earliest known Indian civilization on record.[4] This civilization had flourished by the side of the Indus or Sindhu, the name of Sindhu river was extended to that of a territory on its lower course. This area became known as Sindhu, Hi'n'du and India.[5] It is an irony of history that this land is no longer a part of the country now called India. It should also be clearly understood that much of the human achievements, which are considered as India's contributions to the world civilization, can be dated to a period anterior to the age when the name "India" was extended to the whole or the major part of the subcontinent.[6] The same may be said of the most well-known indigenous name for the subcontinent, i.e., *Bharatavarsha, which* at least upto the age of the Kalinga King Kharavela, denoted only a part of it.[7] Therefore, strictly from the geographical point of view, many of these achievements need not necessarily be called Indian. However, as these were perpetuated in parts of a vast territory called India in different periods of history, and as no other ancient geographical name can be associated with all of them, these may be called Indian. Thus, the geographical limits of our enquiry will probably be formed by the political boundaries of Pakistan and India. But the name Indian subcontinent, a nomenclature very much in use since the days of partition, may be applied to this territory.

NOTES

1. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Classical Age, The History and Culture of the Indian People,* vol III, Bombay, 1954, p. 514, and *The Struggle for Empire,* in the same series, vol. V, Bombay, 1957, pp. 530 f.
2. *Ibid., The Struggle for Empire,* p. 338.
3. For concise accounts of the political events referred to in this paragraph, *ibid., The Classical Age,* pp. 166 f. and *The Struggle for Empire,* pp. 1 f.
4. See S. Piggott, (editor), *The Dawn of Civilization,* London, 1961, pp. 243 f; M. Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond,* London, 1966, pp. 1 f. Wheeler, *The Indus civilization,* (3rd edition), Cambridge, 1968, pp. 1f; and B. and R. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization,* Middlesex, 1968, pp. 126 f.
5. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society,* September, 1966, pp. 5-6; *Our Heritage,* 1967, vol. XV, pt. I, pp. 1-12.
6. For discussions of the ideas of Herodotus, of the companions of Alexander and some persons of the Seleucid times about the size of India, see E. J. Rapson (editor), *The Cambridge History of India,* vol. I, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 335 f. and 400 f. See Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothekes Historikes,* II, 25; and above n. 5.
7. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, 1. 10. The exact spelling of the name occurring in line No. 10 is *Bharadhavasa* (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* vol I, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, p. 216). For a discussion on the evolution of the connotations of different names of the subcontinent see H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities,* 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 63 f.

BAIDYANATH SARASWATI

Chronological and Geographical Limits

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7320

(i) *On Chronology:*

It is popularly held that modern civilization is a product of the Industrial Revolution which took place in Europe in the eighteenth century. But few people can deny the fact that changes in the Ancient Civilization of Europe began much earlier than it. In his book on *Technics and Civilization,* (London, 1962; 5-6) while describing the role played by the machine in modern civilization, Lewis Mumford writes that the machine has swept over our civilization in three successive waves: the first wave was set in motion around the tenth century, the second wave heaved upwards in the eighteenth century, and finally we begin in our own day to observe the swelling energies of a third wave. Mumford gets this impression obviously from the fact that each wave of the development of machinery consequently led to the transformation of social institutions in Europe. Perhaps, Watt's invention of the steam engine caused the greatest stir in European Civilization.

Whatever might have been the case with Europe, in places like India the machine does not seem to have played such a decisive role in social life as it had in the West. Of course, India had reached high degree of technical proficiency much before other civilizations had achieved that state. But in India, which is as vast in area as that of Europe, social transformations do not seem to have percolated through "Technic". For instance, differences between the Indian and European Civilization are mainly on account of the differences in the attitudes which the two have adopted on the question of the place of technology in their social life. European Civilization seems to have conceded the supremacy of the machine over human life and, consequently, the machine dominates every aspect of its existence. Indian Civilization, on the contrary, utilized the fruits of technological invention without being terribly impressed by its methods and aims and, therefore, it was possible for her to enjoy the internal harmony of an ordered social life, The most obvious and commonly known reason why India did not surrender to the machine is her social philosophy which teaches us that the success of an individual cannot be measured in terms of the mechanization of life or material gain. His salvation lies in the spiritual qualities which he may achieve without the help of the machine. The other important reason is that in Indian Civilization everyone is allowed to make his living on a non-competitive basis. For example, the social legislations throughout the ages have allowed both efficient and inefficient technology to perpetuate under the ancient system of *jati-varna.* Hence, no invention, of whatever worth, could really sweep over the entire social life of India, as it had happened in the case of Europe.

However, without going into details of the social philosophy of India and Europe, it needs to be emphasized that a change in technology or in any material aspect does not always, everywhere, alter the basic format of a civilization, that nothing changes a society as thoroughly as a change in the world-view. The latter change may be propounded by social philosophers and the lumineries, etc. of a society. To illustrate, take the case of India where, from time to time, social changes have been brought about by religious teachers and *not* by the machine. Although social institutions have later on changed because of foreign political conquests, yet as far as Ancient India is concerned it is the philosopher and great heretical teachers like the Buddha, Mahabir and Shankaracharya who have always brought about fundamental changes in socio-cultural organization. Therefore, in the phasing of Indian Civilization, we need not follow the method which is applicable to European Civilization. Our phasing may be more relevant on the basis of such cultural factors as socio-religious movements, rather than adhering to either the dynastic changes or technological developments which the historians most commonly take into account for describing the periods of Indian history and culture. Let us elaborate this point a little further.

In the development of Indian philosophy we find that *Vedanta,* also called *Uttara Mimasa,* is the last of the six orthodox *darsanas* which completes the *Upanishadas* and with which the Vedic texts end. The literal meaning of the term *vedanta* is the end or the conclusion of the Veda. Indeed, this also ends a period in Indian history when Vedic culture had dominated the scene. The basic text of this system, known as the *Brahma sutras,* is attributed to a *rishi* named Badarayana or Vyas who, probably, lived in the fourth century. There are the five great commentators of the *Brahma Sutras,* namely, Shankaracharya (9*th* century A.D.), Ramanuja (12*th* century), Nimbarka (12*th* century), Madhava (13*th* century) and Vallabha (15*th* century). Shankaracharya was the one who, in a short lifetime, composed brilliant commentaries on the *Brahma Sutras* and the principal *Upanishadas.* He had also travelled all over India preaching his doctrines and founding *peethas* in the four corners of the Indian subcontinent, viz., the Jotish peetha in north, Sharda peetha in west, Sringeri in south, and Gobardhan peetha in east. Thus, the whole of India fell under the spell of this *savant* whose doctrine is known as *advait,* which means "allowing no second". In these *peethas* he organized Hindu monks who were placed in-charge of the socio-religious life of the people in their respective areas allotted to them. Indeed, it was thus Shankaracharya demarcated the cultural boundaries of India by planting pillars in the four corners of the country, consolidating Indian society which had been earlier torn because of the protestant movements of Buddhism and Jainism.

After Shankaracharya, a new phase in Indian social life begins, more or less with the advent of Ramanuja, the first Acharya of the Bhakti Movement or the Devotional school. This is the phase which succeeded the phases of *Jnan* and *Karma* in which Brahmins had an exclusive role. Ramanuja was followed by the other three Acharyas of the Bhakti school and, thereafter, India could not produce a single philosopher of that stature. The Bhakti school, popularly known as Vaisnavism, subsequently became the chief exponent of social reform in India and produced such luminaries as Ramananda, Kabir, Chaitanya, Mira-Bai and a host of other social reformers who were influenced by Vaisnavism.

Thus, if we examine the various social reform movements in India from the 12*th* century A.D. down to the days of Gandhi, we will find that Vaisnavism has played a central role. For instance, while fighting social incompatibility Vaisnavism had provided an exalted religious position to Kabir, Dadu, Gheesa, Raie Das, Sena and a number of Bhaktas who came from the caste of the lowliest in the land. Indeed, in this attempt it has excelled Buddhism which had also challenged the system of caste several centuries ago. The impact of Vaisnavism is quite deep on practically all the sects that have grown in India after Ramanuja, including the social philosophy of Gandhi. This is because of the obvious reason that all the founders of these sects were socially linked with one another through either Vedantic or Vaisnava *guru-shishya parampara.* Besides introducing a new social philosophy, Vaisnavism had also pervaded in all the finer aspects of Indian civilization. For instance, new styles in temple architecture and iconography, religious rituals and festivals, music and painting, dance and drama, language and literature and aesthetics were introduced by Vaisnava craftsmen. How Vaisnavism has acted as an ally and illuminator in the cultivation of excellence in India is already very well-known to the historians of art and culture. But we may, without elaboration, emphasize the fact that in the civilizational complex of Modern India the elements which India can claim to be her own are largely those that have been shaped by Vaisnavism.

In short, since the indigenous styles of Modern Indian civilization began to take form soon after the introduction of Vedantism, Shankaracharya might be regarded as the last architect of the Ancient Brahmanic civilization in India, A major shift is finally marked with the advent of Ramanujacharya who closes the chapter of *Jnan-karma* philosophy and turns a new leaf in Indian social and cultural life by introducing the Bhakti philosophy of Vaisnavism. Thus, for the purposes of a Sourcebook, the chronological range of Ancient India may be considered from the earliest times, say from the days of Harappan civilization until the appearance of Ramanujacharya, i.e., from about 2,500 B.C. to the 12*th* century A.D.

(ii) *On Geography :*

As far as the geographical scope of a Sourcebook is concerned, the problem is no less complicated. Considering the geographical distribution of civilizational elements we may perhaps easily identify an area of civilization. But the task of demarcating the boundaries of a civilization in conformity with the existing political boundaries is far from easy. Among the ancient civilizations of the world the Indian, Chinese, Greek, and the civilization of Egypt are well-known to us. But, even while referring to Indian civilizations, for instance, we often come across in archaeological literature such distinct civilizations as the Harappan and the ones in South India. Therefore, the boundaries of a given civilization do not necessarily follow the political or geographical contours. These political or geographical considerations should not lead us to designate a civilization, unless we have collected sufficient evidence to show that certain civilizational elements are politico-geographically distributed and are peculiar to that area. For example, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot possibly enumerate the characteristic core-elements that could really go into the making of a civilization called Asian Civilization. On actual enquiry, we may perhaps find that there is nothing like Asian Civilization or European Civilization, while there were and are present a number of civilizations in Asia and Europe. All these points require a great deal of thought and detailed examination.

P. B. DESAI

Chronological Limits for South India

SCHOLARS hold different views on the connotation of the term Ancient India in respect of its chronological extremities. One may start with the age of the Harappan civilization (here we use the term civilization inclusive of culture) whose speechless relics and undeciphered writings speak volumes, and Aryan civilization which is replete with literary traditions. In regard to the outer extremity, however, one may stop with either 1000 A.D. or 1206 A.D. as is generally assumed.

If this suits well with North India, in the case of South India we have to extend this upper limit. Politically and culturally, South India was still in her "Ancient character" by the beginning of the thirteenth century when North India was being transformed from her Ancient to Medieval phase with the adent of Muslim invaders. At this time, however, in South India the old Hindu dynasties—the Yadavas, the Kakatiyas, the Hoysalas and the Pandyas—of orthodox pattern were flourishing and they continued to do so for over a century.

The alien invaders no doubt penetrated into the South also and overran the territory during the early decades of the fourteenth century. But their success was shortlived. Soon, the sons of Sangama who founded the Vijayanagara Empire, subjugated wide regions of South India and repulsed the conquerors beyond the rivers, Krishna and Tungabhadra. Vigilantly guarding their northern bounderies, the rulers of Vijayanagara held their sway over the vast Southern territories for over two centuries. The avowed aim and purpose of Vijayanagara was the protection, preservation and promotion of indigenous religion and culture, through its time honoured social, religious and literary traditions, which were fostered, nourished and perpetuated. Vijayanagara, in short, arrested the Southern march of the Medieval phase of the North until 1565 A.D. Thus, if one takes these historical facts into consideration one has to arrive at the conclusion that in the South the Ancient Period extends up to the middle of the sixteenth century.

As for the Hinduism of Vijayanagara, it was nothing but an extension and expansion of Vedicism in a new environment and, therefore, Vijayanagara is usually described as the last great Hindu Empire. But its Hindu character was divested of parochial or communal stigma associated with it during the later period. True Hinduism is enlarged Vedicism of the Aryans whose vision and spirit of humanity are reflected through the religion and philosophy of the Vedic literature, the Vedic hymns, the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita and the Mahabharata. The grand project of the monumental and extensive commentaries on the Vedas and other works of the Vedic lore, conceived and completed during the reigns of the early rulers of Vijayanagara, explains the character of Hinduism professed by its founders. It may therefore be said that the foundations of Vijayanagara were laid as widely as the boundaries of India and as deeply as Vedic life and culture.

The above observations further emphasize the need for specialised studies in South Indian history, literature, social structure, religion and art, which are cast in a perceptibly different mould than that of North India.

NILRATAN SEN

Eastern Vernaculars : Geographical and Chronological Limits

THERE is an ambiguity about the use of the term 'Ancient'. Political and social historians consider the pre-Muslim period of Indian history as 'Ancient', the Muslim period (c. 1100-1700 A.D.) as 'Medieval', and the British period (c. 1700-1947 A.D.) as 'Modern'. On the other hand, the linguists introduce the Vedic period (c. 1600-600 B.C.) as 'Ancient', the Classical Sanskrit (including Pali-Prakrit) period (600 B.C.-1000 A.D.) as 'Medieval', and the period of Vernaculars (1000 A.D.-up to date) as 'Modern'. Again, while classifying the NIA vernaculars the literary historians of these Eastern languages classify the pre-Muslim period (up to the end of 12*th* century A.D.) as 'Old' or 'Ancient', the Muslim period as 'Medieval' and the British period as 'Modern'. Sometimes, in a broad-based classification, the entire pre-British period is called as 'Old' or 'Ancient' and from the British period it is called as 'New' or 'Modern'. In Dravidian literatures, again, some other principle of such a periodization will be applicable. So, while writing the various volumes of a Sourcebook the principle of periodization to be adopted should be made clear, which might be acceptable to all these regions.

The Eastern NIA vernaculars developed to some literary levels during the period of Muslim reign (c. 1200-1800 A.D.) in this region. The languages might have originated three or four centuries earlier. We have no clear information about the cultural activities of this region beyond that time. Therefore, for the literary materials available in these Eastern NIA vernaculars (Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Maithili) this commonly known period of 'Old' or 'Ancient' vernacular literature begins during the pre-British period, roughly from the beginning of the tenth to the end of eighteenth century.

In the geographical context, there is a common misconception that the oneness of India is a notion which originated during the British regime. In fact, in our view an integrated sub-continent known as *Bharatavarsa* was conceived much earlier, even before the Pauranik Age. In Visnupurana it has been demarcated as:

uttaram yat samudrasya
himadrescaiva daksinam.
varsam tad bharatanama
bharati yatra santatih. (Visnupurana: II, 3.1.)

'The land that lies north of the ocean, and south of the *himadri* (the snowy mountains, i.e., the Himalayas) is called, *Bharatavarsa,* the dwelling of the descendants of Bharata.'

From the references available in the old Brahmanical and Buddhist scriptures it is known that ancient *Bharatavarsa* was divided into five major territories known as, *madhyadesa* or *aryavartta* (the Indo-Gangetic plains), *uttarapatha of udicya* (N.-W. India), *aparanta* or *praticya* (W. India), *purvadesa* or *pracya* (E. India), and *daksinapatha* or *daksinatya* (S. India). From much earlier dates, *aryavartta, udicya* and *praticya* adopted Aryan culture, *daksinapatha* was the citadel of Dravidian civilization, and *pracyadesa* accepted a mixed Austro-Tibeto-Burman culture, with slight Dravidian tints. From the references in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* it seems that till the end of Pauranic Age (pre-Muslim period), Aryan people visiting this *pracyadesa* were considered as *bratya* or 'fallen'.

Gradually this vast Eastern belt was Aryanised, but such conversion was not an easy task for the Brahmanical and Buddhist rulers. Ultimately a new synthetic culture (a mixture of Aryan and non-Aryan) developed and got a concrete shape during the time of the Muslim conquest of India. Four independent states of this region had already gained cultural and literary prominence during the time of Muslim invasion in this territory. They are known as Bangadesa, Kamarupa or Ahom, Udieya and Mithila. All of them have a separate identity regarding their language and literature, and from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards their cultural and literary activities may be followed as a regular development. Preceding this period, some fragmented materials, both literary and archæological, have been discovered, which still await proper examination. It is a challenging task for the scholars in the field, to collect, compile and evaluate those unexplored or partially explored materials.

STRUCTURE AND DESIGN

STRUCTURE

VINAYAK KRISHNA GOKAK

A Plan for a Sourcebook

THE question may be asked: for whom is a Sourcebook going to be planned? For the Indian undergraduate? In that case, our approach will have to be one of narrative simplicity and simplification. For the expert? We will then have to produce a series of excellent bibliographies of original and other source and crucial extracts from these sources. For the postgraduate student? Well, Yes. For him and for any earnest-minded student of Ancient Indian civilization who wishes to have a foretaste of the original sources an account of its developments and many-sided achievements and a full bibliographical aid for more intensive study and inquiry. What is required is a Sourcebook which combines descriptive integration prominently with scientific analysis and not narration. Time sequences must be recognised even in a Sourcebook of this kind. But the second position should go to scientific analysis rather than to narration.

If this view is acceptable, how do we proceed to implement it in our Sourcebook? To quote from Kroeber: "The study of any cultural system means the pursuit of separate physical, social, cultural and linguistic interests ancient and modern, primitive and civilized, into an integrated attack on the biological, the socio-cultural and the linguistic phenomena presented to man. The customs and histories, the ideals and values, the societies and languages of man have to be treated as phenomena of nature in the same manner as the biology of men." It is in this spirit of scientific analysis with an eye on an ultimate re-synthesis, that we shall have to proceed in the matter.

A few points regarding this plan have already been touched (see my opening remarks in this volume). These may be summarised here briefly: (1) A descriptive account of the various phases of Ancient Indian culture, illustrative literary extracts, photographical reproductions of material sources, maps, bibliographies and reference lists: these are the aids necessary for a student of Ancient Indian culture. (2) Histories naturally give preference to time-sequences along with descriptive integration and historical reconstruction.

But the procedure of an analysis of phenomena with a view to their ultimate re-synthesis is naturally at a low ebb. It is greatly subordinated to narration and the dealing with time-sequences. If we have to concentrate on the nature and content of a civilization and make it our main theme, what is required is to give the pride of place to scientific analysis and integrative description by probing into the cultural content itself, using the chronological framework only for measuring the depth—the continuous development—of each cultural item. (3) Ancient Indian culture shows, it is said, a tendency to decline around 1000 A.D. It was not, however, a decline but, rather, a movement to reconstitute itself. A composite civilization already, time and circumstance compelled it to be even more composite by absorbing other races and some of the features of other cultural patterns. This is what accounts for the Medieval and Modern phases of Indian civilization. The features of the ancient pattern lingered on in many parts of India during the 'Middle Ages' and even during the 20*th* century, and these will have to be taken into account for a clear understanding of the ancient pattern itself. Some of these features are about to be incorporated into the emergent civilization of Modern India and these also will have to be identified in order to arrive at a comprehensive view of Ancient Indian culture.

There are certain topics of vital importance which will have to be dealt with in a series of independent reviews or essays in order to do justice to the aspect of descriptive integration. Reviews of this kind will form the first part of our Sourcebook. One will be free to operate the processes of scientific analysis after this has been done. The cultural items that constitute the content of Ancient Indian culture can then be taken up one by one and reviewed both in depth and width.

We shall first examine the topics that tend to promote an integrated description of our subject and then, for a second part of the proposed volume, take up the question of an analysis of the content of cultural items.

Part I:

(1) The common cultural features which Ancient India shared with other civilizations in the Eurasian region.

Miss Bacon (in Volume II of the *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*) speaks of Ancient Indian culture as a blend culture. But Indian culture is not a derivative culture. As Kroeber says, it has given much more than it has borrowed. West Asia, India, and China are the three outstanding centres in Asia of the creativeness of great systems of values and ideas. Kroeber asks the question: "Is Indian culture to be regarded as a blend culture because of the wheat and cattle *versus* rice and buffalo dichotomy of subsistence in India? It is neither the contact of this or that subsistence culture nor the uniting with other ethnic elements like the Dravidian that is the essential event in India. The essential event is the forging of the characteristic idea-system which had such an influence on other parts of the world, the configuration and the Great Tradition".

A summary of Kroeber's essay on the *Nature of Culture* and *The Ancient Oikoumene as a Historic Culture Aggregate* has been given elsewhere earlier on in this volume. The Eurasian region referred to in this essay was the heartland of the major civilizations of the world and inventions and cultural materials were transmitted from end to end in this region though the major style of each civilization in this area persisted in its individuation. It would be a fruitful field of study to inquire what cultural seeds Indian civilization transmitted to the other major civilizations, what India took over from the others, the common features that it shared with the others and what the traits of its own individual styles were like.

(2) The Impact of other major civilizations on India.

This will have to be discussed in connection with the Mediterranean civilizations including the Greek, Roman and Byzantine forms, the Far Eastern ones with its Chinese, Japanese and Korean patterns and 'Islamic' civilizations.

(3) The Impact that Indian civilization had on others.

This might be discussed in connection with the following:

(i) Mediterranean civilization in its Greek, Roman and Byzantine forms.
(ii) Far Eastern civilization in its Chinese, Korean and Japanese forms.
(iii) 'Islamic' civilization.
(iv) Medieval-Christian-civilization.

(4) At some of its peak moments, a regular diffusion of the values of Ancient Indian civilization spread to neighbouring areas.

Tibet, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, and even the Phillipine islands and parts of Central Asia are the aims under this purview. All this will have to be dealt upon in a Sourcebook apart from impacts, for this is the way to understand certain features of Ancient Indian civilization which might have been better preserved there than here.

(5) The possible connection between the Ancient civilization of India or the Oikoumene, and the civilization in parts of America.

The New World does not seem to have had the culture traits of the Oikoumene—the manufacture of iron, the use of the wheel and the plough, stringed musical instruments and the customs of riddles and proverbs. These occur even in some of the Old World cultures which were simpler than those of the Aztec, Maya and Inca. "Nuclear America", the stretch from Mexico to Peru, seems to have developed its own culture independently. Although cultural transfer from the Old World to pre-Columbian America cannot be ruled out yet it will have to be proved in each case, and some thoughts will have to be given to this problems.

(6) A time-profile of Ancient Indian civilization.

This should not be employed as a technique for presenting the entire materials to be included in a Sourcebook. That would turn a Sourcebook into a historical survey. Rather, the time-profile should be dealt with in a separate essay, bringing out the unique characteristics of each phase. It is for historians to decide what the phasing of the civilization should be like.

These broad divisions as adopted in the Bhavan volume Scheme seem to be adequate though the nomenclature itself may not be acceptable on all hands.

(7) The distribution patterns, or the areas and subareas, of this civilization.

The advent of the Aryans into India, the areas into which the original inhabitants were pushed back by them, the Harappan Civilization, the diffusion of Vedic culture into other parts of Northern India and into Eastern India, its further march to Central India and the Deccan and South India: all this will have to be discussed in an independent essay, in its proper time-sequences, with maps to illustrate the movements of this culture. When its citadels were, in a sense, falling in the North, Ancient Indian civilization found new nuclei for itself in Central and Western India and in the South. Thus, this shifting panorama in space will have to be sketched out, even as we try to give the time-profile of the civilizational patterns.

(8) The successive phases of Ancient Indian civilization, specially its peak-points.

There is, for example, the phenomenon of the clustering of great minds at a particular moment in the history of a country. The Upanishadic sages probably represent such a great moment. It is interesting to know that the Buddha, Mahavira and Panini were contemporaries in the *6th* century B.C. There was another outburst of glory during the age of Kalidasa, given by the stage of a civilization's development—"the stage when its productive cultural patterns are defined and mature but where their inherent potentialities have not yet begun to be exhausted" (*The Nature of Culture*, p. 128). Kroeber further remarks, "What we were wont to call 'great men' are those among many more individuals of above average ability who happen to get born in a time and place and society the patterns of whose culture have formed with sufficient potential value and have developed to sufficient ripeness to allow the full capacities of these individuals to be realised or expressed".

(9) The lower time-limits for Ancient Indian civilization.

There has been considerable difference of opinion on this point. One view is that the Medieval phase begins with the accession of Qutb-ud-din to the throne of Delhi in 1206 A.D. Another is that there is a marked decadence in all cultural activity about A.D. 1000 onwards and that the period from 1000 A.D. to 1300 A.D. should be regarded as a long period of struggle for political supremacy. Whatever the solution acceptable to the majority of historians may be, the important point for a Sourcebook is a time-and-space profile of the distinctive features of Ancient Indian civilization that continued to be active in various parts of India beyond the dividing line—wherever it happens to be drawn—between the Ancient and Medieval phases. For example, the Vijayanagara Empire was founded in the South in A.D. 1336, beyond the dividing line. Ancient Indian civilization continued to be active there, and one could even speak of glorious achievements in many spheres of cultural activity. The Marathas took it up when Vijayanagara fell. Some of the Rajput states had similar achievements to their credit. In some princely states, like Mysore and Baroda, some features of Ancient Indian culture held their habitual sway well on into the 19*th* century. Life went on undisturbed in the minor princely states. What were the customs and traditions of Ancient Indian civilization that were retained and projected in this way even during the Medieval phase? What is their time-and-space profile? This will have to be discussed in an independent essay and an entry made regarding its retention and continuation under the various cultural items.

There was no doubt, a resistance offered by the ancient culture to the 'alien' culture and to the more composite one that was growing up during the 'Middle Ages'. But the 'Middle Ages' have to be regarded as a period of reconstitution as much as resistance. The ancient pattern was retained and even revived wherever there was resistance. The resistance itself also absorbed some of the features of the 'alien' culture. A time-and-space profile of the persistence of the ancient pattern during the 'Middle Ages' should therefore be given in order to complete our picture of Ancient Indian culture.

We shall also have to examine those features of the civilization that had integrated into the Medieval phase. The retention and continuation of these features is one thing, and their combination with emergent features to form new cultural items and styles, whether at the subsistence social or 'value' level, quite another. This means that we shall first have to form a clear idea of what Medieval Indian civilization stands for. Saints like Nanak and Kabir and leaders like Akbar have certain relevant things to say on the value aspect. The lives and utterances of leaders of thought and action who flourished during the Medieval phase will have to be studied from this point of view.

In this context, what the Modern Period of India is will have to be examined, probably, with greater force. The Indian Renaissance had many spokesmen who examined all aspects of cultural activity and spoke about them clearly and boldly. Several ancient cultural values have entered into the Modern Indian concept of culture and stayed there for more than a century. The cultural debate of the twentieth century in India centres around the acceptance or rejection of some of the features of the Ancient Indian value system and also around the other issue: which of the values of contemporary Western civilization shall we accept and which reject? Our Sourcebook will have to devote some space to an examination of Indian culture from this angle. The entire body of pronouncements on Indian culture from Rammohan Roy to Vinoba Bhave will have to be reviewed in order to ascertain what features of the Ancient and Medieval pattern persist in the structure of the emergent value-system of Modern India.

Similarly, if we think that Ancient Indian culture disintegrated or that it did start off in a partially new direction during the 'Middle Ages', what were the reasons for this disintegration? Does the advent of the 'foreigner' explain the phenomenon adequately? What about internecine strife among the indigenous princes and ruling powers? What about the large mass of people? To what extent was the value-system of Ancient Indian culture diffused among all the sections of Indian society? If, as is more likely, we think that Ancient Indian culture began to reconstitute itself during the 'Middle Ages', how did these very factors help or hinder this process? Was the reconstitution complete during the 'Middle Ages'? If so, what were its features? Or, did the process continue during the Modern Period at a more complex level because of new factors that entered into the situation, and is the process complete now? In what manner has it crystallised?

Our Sourcebook will have to take up all these issues for discussion. While the documentation may be devoted entirely to the Ancient Indian phase, these other issues will have to be dealt with if only to get a clearer view of the Ancient phase itself.

(10) The question of the Style of Ancient Indian culture.

By Style we mean the distinguishing features that give a civilization its individuality as compared with other major civilizations. The Style of a subperiod of the same civilization may be different from that of another. The subject will have to be viewed both from a diachronic and synchronic angle, *Part II :*

When our Sourcebook has dealt with all the issues mentioned in Part I in their spatial as well as temporal aspect, it will be then possible for us to take up the content of Ancient Indian civilization, i.e. all the cultural items which are its sum and substance. Each one of these items will have to be viewed spatially as well as temporally. These items may be listed under the six divisions of culture, following Kroeber. But one may find that the listing of topics in the Bhavan volume is also particularly helpful for this purpose.

A working classification of the items which is attempted here, and given below, indicates only the broad guide-lines. There could be many more discussions under each one of these heads and under each item, a note will have to be prepared, mentioning the developments during each period or sub-period. But prominence will have to be given to the presentation of the cultural items of the civilization, along with the additional changes or developments, the progress that it went through during the various phases of the civilization. *For, the theme of a Sourcebook is the nature of the civilization itself and not only narration.* Therefore, what should be central is the cultural item and the time-sequences should be subordinated to it. For example, R. C. Majumder, (*The Classical Age* p. 324), after reviewing the *puranas,* fables and romances, poetics and metrics, lexicography, grammar, medicine, and astronomy, produced during the Age of the Guptas, says: "In addition to the subjects mentioned above, there were others on which regular texts seem to have been written during this period, but they were all superseded by later works and lost to us. In particular, mention may be made of such widely varying subjects as architecture, music, dancing, painting and perhaps even the art of stealing." The art of stealing may be regarded by some as a subject for the consideration of law-givers rather than of a student of civilizations. In any case, the point to note is the full-bloodedness and vitality of Ancient Indian civilization. The *chousashti vidyas* or the sixty-four accomplishments or cultural acquisitions, are a household phrase in all parts of India even today, though very few would be able to enumerate them and point out their significance.

The analytical list of cultural items given below is in line with the six divisions of culture indicated by Kroeber:

I. *Subsistence Culture :*

(i) Agriculture:
  (a) The growing of food crops: rice and sugarcane;
  (b) The domestication of animals: sheep, pigs, goats, ass, horse, hen, chicken;

(c) Devisal of tools; the plough and wheel; metallurgical processes connected with copper-bronze, iron-steel; wheel for transport and for water-mills.

(ii) Carpentry and house-building, beds, couches and chairs.

(iii) Pottery, household utensils, porcelain.

(iv) Articles of dress and decoration: Spinning and weaving cotton, felt and silk, the last of which came from the Far East; cotton travelled from India to elsewhere; cosmetics, hair styles, ornaments.

(v) Cookery: spices; vegetarianism and other restrictions.

(vi) Drinks: intoxicants, drinks and drugs; narcotics; taverns.

(vii) Flowers, fruits and gardens.

(viii) Tanks, wells and rivers.

(ix) Transport: chariot; boats; the compass.

(x) Warfare: chariots; composite and cross bow; peapons; cavalry; stirrups; gunpowder.

(xi) Medicine: the sick and their cure.

(xii) Other crafts and industrials: seal-engravings; precious stones and metals; shell ivory and faience or decorated earthenwares and porcelain; coins; terracotta; minor arts.

(xiii) Writing: the Indus script; alphabetic writing; paper-making and type-printing (this went from China to Europe, but India seems to have missed it).

II. *Social Culture :*

(i) Race movement: six main races with subtypes.

(ii) Tribes and clans.

(iii) The family, kinship.

(iv) The position of women: marriage births; old maids; the unchaste wife; the courtesan; prostitutes; concubines; pimps; co-wives; polygyny; polyandry; divorce.

(v) Children and youth: adoption.

(vi) Domestic pets: parrot, mynah and peacock.

(vii) The caste system, different castes and *Vratyas*: the low castes; aboriginal tribes; the four varnas; slaves; eunuchism was prevalent in Eurasia, it started as a ritual mutilation and later was inter-twined in India with the pomp and prestige of royalty.

(viii) The Town: buildings; drainage; sanitation; town-life; cities.

(ix) Economic conditions: money; disc coins; weight and linear measures; capital and labour; the law of wages; loans and interest.

(x) Trade and Commerce: guilds; industry; objects of trade; trade routes overland and by sea; inland trade.

(xi) Political Institution: monarchy; divinity of kingship with its retainer burial and mass labour conscription for construction of dykes, canals, palaces, temples and tombs; *Sabha* and *Samiti;* purohit; the State: *Janapadas;* Inter-state relations.

(xii) Administrative Organization: ministers and royal officials; court-life; taxation; system of administration; *Grama.*

(xiii) Education: pupils and teachers; subjects of study; female education; industrial education; *Asrams; Viharas;* universities.

(xiv) The habits and customs of the people; the life of a cultured citizen.

(xv) Foreigners and hospitality.

(xvi) Colonial and cultural expansion.

III. *Value Culture :*

(i) Games and other activities: amusements and entertainments; festivals; falconry; chess; cubical dice.

(ii) Magic and primitive religion: magic and charms; blood sacrifice complex; divination from parts of animals; popular superstition, omens and portents (*Bhuta, Pischacha* and *Vetala*); oaths, curses and blessings; trial by ordeal (fire, poison, water); combat ordeal; the concept of the dragon; funerary customs.

(iii) Worship: worship of tree, fire and water; animal worship.

(iv) Religion and Mythology: mother goddess; the celestial, atmospheric and terrestrial gods; Siva; sacrifice; the concept of heaven and hell; the circuit of birth and death; ascetics, monks, *sanyasins* and nuns; the Tamil saints called *Nayanars* and *Alivars.*

(v) Philosophy:

(a) The division into periods:

(1) Pre-vedic philosophy;

(2) The three principal vedas and their interpretation; (*mantra* or ritual prayer song; *Brahmana* or logical application of the *mantra. Upanishad and darshana*: bringing out the meanings of the Vedic hymns.)

(3) The Samaveda and Vedic chanting;

(4) Atharvaveda and the sacred sciences;

(5) Yajurveda with its 8 parts and others;

(6) *Vedanga* consisting of *shiksa* or phonetics, *chandas* or prosody, *vyakaran* or grammar, *nirukta* or etymology and lexicography, *jyotisha* or astronomy and *kalpa* or character building.

(b) Metaphysics: concept of purity, pollution and sin; concept of *purusharthas* and of culture; concept of *dharma, karma, ahimsa* and re-birth; concept of *Avatars;* concept of heaven and hell.

(c) Ethics and Sociology: concept of *Varnas, asramas, gotras* and *pravaras;* the *smritis* and *Dharmashastra;* pious and charitable works.

(Philosophy originated around 600-520 B.C. among the Chinese, Indians, Iranians and Greeks. All subsequent philosophies are derived from these first four. Sumer, Babylon, Hebrew and Egypt have philosophies but no systematic philosophy).

(vi) Literature: Vedic hymns; prose of the *Brahmanas* and *Arayankas;* prose of the Upanishads; the Sutras; poetry, the epic; (poetry was not present in the Sumerian, Babylonian, Syrian, Egyptian and Hebrew areas. They had only prose. Poetry in metre arises around 1000 B.C. in three areas outside the Near East: Greece, China and India. These three poetic forms originated independently of one another. Indian poetry may in part be traced back to an earlier date than Greek or Chinese if we count in the hymns of the Rigveda. These three civilizations developed metrical poetry and systematic philosophy simultaneously). The *Puranas;* riddles and proverbs; fables and romances; folk songs and ballads; biographical literature; the Sangam literature in Tamil; the Champu form of epic in Kannada; the study of literature: *chandas* or metrics; *Alankar* or rhetorics; *Natya Shastra* or dramaturgy; *Alankara Shastra* or æsthetics.

(vii) The other Fine Arts: *Shilpa Shastra* or sculpture; statues etc. in the Harappan Civilization; *Vastra Shilpa;* religious architecture; temples; monasteries and *stupas;* Nagara-Dravida style in temples; painting: (The treatises on painting have been lost). *Natya Shastra* and dance: Bharata's *Natya Shastra; Sangeet Shastra* or music; stringed instruments; (All the fine arts were extensively cultivated as well as written about).

(viii) The Physical Sciences: mathematices and logic; Greek astronomy seems to have borrowed considerably from the Neo-Babylonian. The sources of Indian and Chinese methods of astronomy are still held to be obscure. Physics, chemistry and mathematics were well cultivated and also written about.

(ix) The Social Sciences or *Varta Vidyas*: *Arthashastra* or economics; the *Dharmashastra,* the science of social behaviour and law; education; Kalpa or science of character building; *Kamashastra* or erotics.

(x) Other Speculations: alchemy; astronomy; *Dhanurvidya* or archery; *Aswashastra* or hippology; *Ratnashastra* or Jewellery.

IV. *Language :*

The antiquity of Sanskrit; Prakrit and Pali; language and literature; Tamil and Kannada in the South; *Vyakaran Shastra* or grammar; *Shiksha* or phonetics and voice culture; *Nirukta* or lexicography and etymology; *Lipi* or orthography; calligraphy and cartography.

V. *Morality and Law :*

Individual ownership of land; criminal law; civil law; evidence; judicial procedure; law of partition and inheritance; courts of justice; witnesses; documents; thieves, robbers and cheats; *Dharmashastra* or the science of human behaviour and law. *Nitis* are prescriptions for good conduct.

VI. *Fashion :*

This can be studied with reference to several items of subsistence culture, particularly dress, ornaments, hair-styles etc., that keep changing through the centuries.

Part III :

Other Aids :

What are the aids that a student of Ancient Indian civilization requires in order to specialize in the subject? The first part of our Sourcebook might consist of background reviews of the chronological sequence and other problems. The second part might consist of time-and-space profiles of the cultural items that constitute Ancient Indian civilization. As a third part of the equipment, wherever these items may find a place in the book itself, the following are other source aids that the scholar may find necessary:

(1) Archæological and other material remains, and the literary and other æsthetic remains of the period will bring the student into direct contact with his subject.

(2) Contemporary eye witness accounts of the subject by members of other cultural systems who had the opportunity to get an authentic experience of Ancient Indian culture. (Foreign Accounts).

(3) Material and literary remains in other outlying countries and in other parts of the world that bear testimony to the impact that Ancient Indian civilization had on their way of living.

(4) Interpretations of these sources by scholars down the ages so that the student's own imagination is kindled by the manner in which others have exercised theirs on the subject.

Short accounts may be given of these categories of sources along with their bibliographies. No literature will generally be available on subsistence culture as such. But similies, descriptions and casual references may be singled out to illustrate the developments that have taken place.

This brings us to extracts that can be taken from the extant literature to illustrate the multi-faceted nature of Ancient Indian civilization. Each extract may, with advantage, be accompanied by a brief note commenting upon its importance in the literature and its significance.

A brief review will also have to be given of the archæological sites and of the other material remains including icons, sculptures and paintings, connected with Ancient India. As many of these as possible should be reproduced by way of suitable photographs in a Sourcebook. Suitable maps will have to be included. Illustrative extracts from contemporary eye witness accounts should be translated and included in a Sourcebook, under as many heads as are illustrated in the accounts, with brief notes explaining their importance and significance.

As for the material and literary remains in neighbouring countries and in other parts of the world like Greece and Rome, the procedure suggested in the foregoing paragraphs may be followed.

Interpretative articles or books by scholars or illuminating though casual references, in Medieval and Modern writings, may be listed as follows:

(i) Medieval references to or writings in Sanskrit about Ancient Indian culture.

(ii) Medieval references to and writings in the Indian languages.

(iii) Medieval references to and writings in Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

(iv) Books and articles on Ancient Indian culture in modern times in English by Indians.

(v) Books and articles on Ancient Indian culture in modern times in the Indian languages from Assamese to Urdu.

(vi) Select bibliographies of writings in English and other European languages, and Chinese and other Asian languages will have to be given with short notes on the significance of the books listed.

The Bhavan publication has rendered a useful service by giving a general bibliography, chapterwise bibliographies and references occasionally to one or two standard books on the topic at the end of each chapter in each volume. We have stressed the need for more comprehensive bibliographies.

Another need of the student who uses our Sourcebook will be for short surveys and an introduction to each period or sub-period and to each topic. Apart from a general introduction giving a panoramic view of the pattern of Ancient Indian civilization in its setting and various phases, an introduction to each period will be necessary to bring out the particulars of the advance made, or the regression suffered, during that period.

Our Sourcebook also will have to be planned as a book of synthesis and general information. But what measure of synthesis can be achieved in a predominantly analytical exposition of the subject, in spite of all the safeguards suggested above, is still an open question. We shall probably have to repeat the plea that Pareti, one of the editors of the UNESCO *History of Mankind,* made: "This defect can be remedied if the reader is patient and alert enough to compare one chapter with another, and to make proper use of the table of contents, the indexes and the cross-references."

A. D. PUSALKAR

A Table of Contents

It is our suggestion that a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian civilization should be divided into certain convenient parts, instead of issuing it without any subdivision. The main divisions into the following four parts is submitted here for consideration:

Part I: From the earliest times to 600 B.C. (i.e. the end of the Vedic Age).
Part II: From the Saisungas to the rise of the Guptas (600 B.C.—A.D. 320).
Part III: The Classical Age or the Gupta Age (A.D. 320—750).
Part IV: Pratiharas, Rashtrakutas, Palas, Pallavas, etc. (A.D. 750—1000).

A Sourcebook should be divided into chapters and sections in accordance with topics and sub-topics to be dealt with. One chapter should generally be devoted to a topic. Sources should be arranged chronologically, and it will have to be decided whether primary or original sources alone are to be included, or modern works also. Hitherto, Sourcebooks have dealt with only *few* extracts from *select* Sources. It may be considered if full *extracts* from *one* primary source are to be included, and only references should be given to other sources. The following is an example, in terms of the historical approach of the topic and sub-topics, along with an elaborate though not exhaustive list of sources for the four parts suggested above, with names of the main works only (detailed references for all these can be supplied by the author).

TOPIC : Social Conditions.

Sub-Topics : caste; *varnas* and *jatis; asramas; samskaras;* social divisions and subdivisions; rise and fall in caste status; mixed castes; status of slaves; monastic orders; family life; woman's position in society; daughter; wife mother; prostitution; seclusion of women; marriage rules and practices; *anuloma* and *pratiloma; niyoga; sati;* life of people; urban and rural life; house and furniture; food and drink; dress and decoration; toilette and personal hygiene; sports, pastimes and festivities; amusements; beliefs and superstitions; manners and morals, *SOURCES :*

Part I

From the earliest times to 600 B.C.

(i) *Literary* (*Texts and Translations*)

1. Vedas:
    - Atharva-veda
    - Kapishthala-Katha-samhita
    - Kathaka-samhita
    - Maitrayani-samhita
    - Rig-veda
    - Sama-veda
    - Taittiriya-samhita
    - Vajasaneyi-samhita
    - Yajur-veda (see Kapishthala-Katha-samhita; Kathaka-samhita; Maitrayani-samhita; Taittiriya-samhita; and Vajasaneyi-samhita).
2. Brahmanas:
    - Aitareya Brahmana
    - Arsheya Brahmana
    - Daivata Brahmana
    - Gopatha Brahmana
    - Kaushitaki Brahmana
    - Panchavimsa Brahmana
    - Samavidhana Brahmana
    - Samhitopanishad Brahmana
    - Satapatha Brahmana
    - Shadvimsa Brahmana
    - Taittiriya Brahmana;
    - Vamsa Brahmana.
3. Aranyakas:
    - Aitareya Aranyaka
    - Sankhayana Aranyaka.
4. Upanishads:
    - Brihadaranyaka-upanishad
    - Chhandogya-upanishad
    - Taittiriya-upanishad.

5. Sutras:
    - Baudhayana-srauta-sutra
    - Katyayana-srauta-sutra
    - Sankhayana-srauta-sutra
    - Apastamba-dharma-sutra
    - Baudhayana-dharma-sutra
    - Gautama-dharma-sutra
    - Vasishtha-dharma-sutra
    - Asvalayana-grihya-sutra
    - Baudhayana-grihya-sutra
    - Khadisa-grihya-sutra
    - Paraskara-grihya-sutra.

(ii) *Archæological*

1. Archæological Survey of India:
    - Reports by Cunningham
    - Annual Reports and Reports of Circles
    - Memoirs
    - New Imperial Series
    - Ancient India
    - Indian Archæology: A Review
2. Archæological Survey Reports of Indian States (Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Mysore, Jaipur, etc.)
    - Mackay, E. J. H. *Chanhu-daro Excavations* (1935-36)
    - ,, ,, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, 2 vols.
    - Marshall, Sir John, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization,* 3 vols.
    - Vats, M. S. *Excavations at Harappa,* 2 vols.
    - Wheeler, R. E. M. *Indus Civilization.*

Part II

From the Saisunagas to the Rise of the Guptas (600 B.C.—A.D.320)

(i) *Literary (Texts and Translations)*

1. Indian Sources:
    - (A) Brahmanical:
        - Philosophical Sutras
        - Epics
        - Puranas
        - Dharma-sastra
        - Arthasastra.

- (B) Buddhist:
  - Canonical
  - Non-canonical.
- (C) Jain.

2. Non-Indian Sources:
   - (A) Greek and Latin (Texts and Translations)
   - (B) Chinese (Texts and Translations)
   - (C) Tibetan.

- (ii) *Archæological*
- (iii) *Epigraphic*
- (iv) *Numismatic.*

Part III

The Classical Age (A.D. 320-705)

- (i) *Literary (Texts and Translations)*

1. Indian Sources
   - (A) Brahmanical:
     - Epics
     - Puranas
     - Philosophy
     - Dharma-sastra (Texts and Commentaries)
     - Historical Works
     - Polity
     - Kamasastra
     - Koshas
     - Astronomy
     - Medicine
     - Belles-Lettres.
   - (B) Buddhist:
     - Pali
     - Sanskrit.
   - (C) Jain.
   - (D) Muslim.
2. Non-Indian Sources:
   - (A) Chinese
   - (B) Tibetan.

- (ii) *Archæological*
- (iii) *Epigraphic*
- (iv) *Numismatic.*

Part IV.

Pratiharas, Rashtrakutas, Palas, Pallavas, etc. (A.D. 750-1000)

(i) *Literary (Texts and Translations)*

1. Indian Sources
   - (A) Brahmanical:
     - Epics
     - Puranas
     - Philosophy
     - Dharma-sastra (including Commentaries and Nibandhas)
     - Historical Works
     - Polity
     - Koshas
     - Grammar
     - Astronomy—Astrology and Mathematics
     - Medicine
     - Poetics—Dramaturgy and Metrics
     - Champu
     - Anthology
     - Belles-Lettres.
   - (B) Buddhist:
     - Pali
     - Sanskrit.
   - (C) Jain.
   - (D) Works in Apabhramsa.
   - (E) Muslim.
2. Non-Indian Sources:
   - (A) Arabic.
   - (B) Tibetan.

(ii) *Archaeological.*

(iii) *Epigraphic.*

(iv) *Numismatic.*

SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA

Ancient Indian Terms as Guide-Lines

A SOURCEBOOK may be divided into two parts: (i) Descriptive account, and (ii) Evaluation. In the first volume we may concentrate only on Ancient Indian civilization, and discuss Asia in it only when the subject of India's contacts with the other Asian countries are involved.

As regards the methodology, since one of the ideas seems to be to infuse an Indianness in the work, we may use Indian terms as far as possible so that our concepts and perspective may not lose the direction. We have until now been using foreign terms and adjusting Indian terms to them. In the proposed Sourcebook we may try Ancient Indian terms as our guide-lines and adapt or affiliate the modern European terms to them. To describe an ancient civilization with the help of modern terms and concepts is not an ideal thing to do. Two brief examples given below will serve to illustrate our viewpoint:

(i) The modern term culture appears to mean the group-activities of the people of a time, while civilization appears to denote a comparative excellence in this matter, in a wider time-perspective judged on the basis of a man-made standard. The term Dharma is perhaps equivalent to culture. In Ancient India culture was religion-based, and so Dharma also meant religion. The term Arya, contains the idea of a comparative excellence. We may use Bharatiya Dharma to mean Indian culture, and Bharatiya Sabhyata to mean Indian civilization.

(ii) The time-division, Ancient, Medieval and Modern, also appear to be modern concepts, while in Ancient India civilization was perhaps considered to be a continuous process comparable to the main-stream of a river which absorbs tributaries, sends forth branches, and yet flows without losing its continuity. The pragmatic value of time-divisions are undeniable, and the process of continuation ends only in *Pralaya* and not with the commencement of dynasties; this fundamental strain in Ancient India's thinking should not also be overlooked, The following is an elaborate, if not exhaustive, proposed list of topics for a Sourcebook:

Part I

1. Pre-Vedic civilization and culture.
2. The three principal Vedas:
    - (a) Mantra (ritual prayer-song);
    - (b) Brahmana (magical application of the mantras);
    - (c) Upanishad, Darsana (sacred meanings of the Vedic hymns and the six principal philosophies).
3. The Samaveda and the Vedic chanting.
4. Atharvaveda and the Sacred Sciences:
   Yajurveda with its 8 parts and others.
5. Vedanga:
    - (a) Siksha (phonetics, voice-culture, etc.);
    - (b) Chhandas (prosody);
    - (c) Vyakarana (grammar, linguistics, etc.);
    - (d) Nirukta (lexicography);
    - (e) Jyotisha (astronomy);
    - (f) Kalpa (discipline and character-building).

   (Post-Vedic developments would also be discussed under each item).
6. Some fundamental philosophical theories: Karma-vada, Janmantara-vada, Mukti, etc.
7. The Varnasrama system: its origin, development, key-note, etc.
8. Ideals of a house-holder.
9. The institution of Sanyasa.
10. The composite nature of Ancient Indian civilization: the indigenous and foreign elements, the Vedic and non-Vedic elements, the classical and folk elements, etc.
11. Mahavira's and Buddha's contributions to the growth of Indian thought.
12. The Pali language and literature.
13. The Prakrit language and literature.
14. The Nitis and Dharma-shastras (political science, sociology, military science, public administration, religion, culture, law, etc.).
15. Forms of government.
16. Elements of Modern sciences in Ancient Indian philosophies.
17. Religious philosophies and cults.
18. Bhakti movement and lyrics.
19. Varta-vidya (industrial and practical arts: agriculture, commerce and economics, sculpture, architecture, medicine, crafts, etc.).

20. Kala-vidya (64 fine arts, aesthetics, etc.).
21. Lipi, Alekhya (calligraphy, cartography).
22. Ramayana, Mahabharata (The Great Epics).
23. Purana (The popular religious literature and sacred folk-lore).
24. Kavya, Rupaka, Natya-shastra, Alamkara (secular poetry, drama, dramaturgy, rhetoric, aesthetics, etc.).
25. Sangam literature of South India.
26. Katha (prose-stories and folk-tales).
27. Biographical literature.
28. Sangita (music).
29. Ideals of Woman-hood.
30. Education.
31. Relics and monuments and other material remains.
32. Foreign contacts through colonisation and trade and by religious and political contacts.
33. Unity in Diversity.

Part II

1. Ancient India in the eyes of foreigners:
    (a) Observations of early historians and travellers;
    (b) Observations of modern great non-Indians.
2. Ancient India in the eyes of the great men of Modern India:
    (a) Rammohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Sri Aurobindo, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan;
    (b) Bankimchandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, Tyagaraja, Ananda Coomaraswami;
    (c) Balgangadhar Tilak, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi.

ARYENDRA SHARMA

Social Conditions : Topics

I *General*

Influence of religion, philosophy, environment, and of the political and economic situation on society.

II *Chronological Frame Work*

Pre-Indian Traditions—Indo-European and Indo-Iranian traits, other influences (Sumerian, Egyptian, etc.)
Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.
Austric and Dravidian Cultures.
Pre-Buddhist India—Early Vedic, Later Vedic, Upanisadic, Epic.
Buddhist India.
Mauryas and Greek Invasion.
Contacts with other Asian Countries (China, Japan, Tibet, Malaya, Ceylon, etc.)
Asoka.
Sungas, Sakas, Satavahanas, Kusanas.
Guptas, Huna invasions.
Harsha.
Pallavas, Chalukyas, Rastrakutas, etc.

III *Main Topics*

Concepts of Dharma, Karma, Purusartha, Ahimsa and Rebirth.
Concepts of Purity, Pollution and Sin.
Varnas and Asramas.
Gotras and Pravaras.
Professions and Occupations.
Cities and Villages.
Roads and Means of Transport.
Home and Family.

Daily Life.
Domestic Ceremonies.
Marriage, Dowry, Divorce, Adoption.
Position of Married and Unmarried Women, Widows, Old Maids.
Sexual Life, Adultry, Niyoga, "Co-wives", Polygyny and Polyandry.
Prostitutes, Concubines, Pimps.
Children and Youth.
Old age and Death, Funeral Rites, Ancestor Worship.
Education, Guru and Sisya, Gurukulas, Asramas, Universities, Student Life,
Food, Drink, Spices, Cookery, Vegetarianism and other Restrictions.
Intoxicating Drinks and Drugs, Narcotics, Taverns.
Clothes, Ornaments, Bath, Cosmetics, Toilet, Hair dressing.
Ideals of Beauty.
Beds, Couches, Chairs etc.
Implements and Utensils.
Flowers, Fruits and Gardens.
Tanks, Wells, and Rivers.
Games, Sports, Amusements, Toys and Festivals.
Court Life.
Foreigners, Hospitality.
Ascetics, Monks, Sanyasins.
Thieves, Robbers, Cheats.
Travel.
Crime and Punishment.
Social penalties, Outcasts, Vratyas.
Vratas and Self-purification.
Slavery.
The Sick and their Care.
Life of the Poor.
Omens and Portents.
Beliefs and Superstitions (Bhuta, Pisaca, Vetala etc.)
Sacred Animals.
Sacred Trees.
Domestic Animals and Pets—Horse, Cow, Dog, Sheep, Goat, Parrot, Myna, and Peacock.
Life of a cultured citizen (Nagarika).
Life Philosophy.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

Problems of Compilation

It is well-known that our knowledge of Ancient India is derived mainly from archæological and literary sources. Archæological sources include inscriptions, coins, monuments and sculptures as well as other objects found in excavations and explorations. Indigenous treatises on various subjects in Sanskrit, Prakrit and other Indian languages, works of foreign historians and geographers, accounts left by non-Indian merchants, sailors, pilgrims, travellers, etc. form the literary sources. The relevant non-Indian texts are in Greek, Latin, Chinese Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Khotanese, Syriac, Arabic, Tibetan, etc.[1]

The simplest way of compiling a Sourcebook would be to prepare a descriptive catalogue of all these sources. Such a compilation, however, is not likely to bring into focus the chief characteristics of Ancient Indian civilization. But this may be possible by arranging the sources under the various topics noted above.

Such an arrangement too, however, will have its pitfalls. First of all, the total volume of materials will be too much to be incorporated competently in one single handy book. Secondly, it will be difficult to avoid repetitions of the citation of sources having relevance to more than one aspect of the civilization in question. Finally, an elaborate classification of sources will not indicate the indebtedness of India's Ancient civilization to other civilizations, the area of its influence, and its contribution to the world culture, or its legacy to the present world. In short, Ancient India's personality will not be appreciated.

These pitfalls may, however, be circumvented to a great extent. Each of the topics mentioned above may form a chapter of the book concerned. Such a chapter will include all the relevant subjects. A short section will be devoted to each of these subjects. First, the earliest known references or allusion to a subject in different categories of sources will be recorded in the section devoted to it. Then only the sources, which indicate the stages of development of the thought technique or style concerning the subject, will be briefly noticed.

These notices again need not fully describe or quote the sources, but should cite or quote those portions from them which give new information. Such a treatment of data will help us in curtailing the avoidable girth of the volume. Moreover, this will also avoid repetitions of the facts known from chronologically earlier sources.

For example, in the section concerning the structural temples of India we shall record the earliest references or allusion to it in inscriptional, numismatic and, if possible, literary sources. We shall next, briefly, notice the earliest archæological remains of this type of architecture, viz., the ruins of the circular shrine at Bairat in Rajasthan. Then in course of describing the structure of the earliest (more or less) extant temple (viz., the Sanchi temple no. 17) its characteristics would be clearly indicated. This will be followed not by a complete catalogue of Indian temples, but by brief notices of the stylistic features of temples betraying developments of the Gupta style and then of the Nagara style, Dravida style, etc. Such a treatment of the subject within a short compass will not be detrimental to the reader's understanding of the sources of our knowledge of Indian temple architecture.

The descriptive portion of each section will be followed by an analytic one. Here the sources and legacies of ideas or technique concerning the subject will be discussed. If necessary, the contribution of the subject to the enrichment of the Indian civilization will be assessed. Thus, in the section concerning Indian scripts we may discuss the question of Aramaic influence on the origin of the Kharoshthi alphabet. Or, in the analytic portion of the section devoted to the Indian *stupa* architecture, one may point out the developments of this architectural form and of the concept of the worship of the *stupa* in Ceylon, South-East Asia and Central Asia. Such analyses will bring into the fore the importance of the subject concerned in the evolution of Indian civilization.

Perhaps a little further elucidation of our scheme is necessary in order to indicate the line of discussion to be followed in a chapter of rather abstract nature, viz., the chapter on the migration and dissemination of ideas. Here the discussion should be as objective as possible, pinpointing the nature of the idea or knowledge in question, the period of its spread or migration to extra-Indian territories, and the intermediaries through whom such an act was effected. To illustrate our point, we may refer to the history of the spread of Buddhism to China. The ideas originally preached by the Buddha in the Indian subcontinent were later disseminated to different countries. China was the most important of the countries which embraced this Indian religion, and the chronology of its introduction into China should form a subject of enquiry in the chapter in question. In this context, we must be careful in selecting the earliest authentic source referring to China's knowledge of the Doctrine. Competent Sinologists have questioned the authenticity of the stories in the *Wei-lueh*

(3*rd* century A.D.). *Li-tai san-pao chi* (A.D. 597), *San-fu ku-shih* (late 3*rd* century A.D.), *Chih Kuai* (second half of the 3*rd* century A.D.), *Wei-shu* (sixth century A.D.), Liu Chun's commentary on the *Shi-shuo hsin-yu*, etc., claiming China's acquaintance with Buddhism in the centuries immediately before the inception of the Christian Era.[2] Buddhism is mentioned in an edict dated to A.D. 65, which was quoted later in the *Hou Han-shu*.[3] Pan Yung's report of A.D. 125 reproduced in the *Hou Han-shu*, also speaks of the existence of this religion in *Shen-tu*[4], which included a part of the Indian subcontinent.[5] Hence, the doctrine became known in China by c. A.D. 65. The 1*st* century A.D. was the age not only of the expansion of the Kushanas and the Hans in Central Asia, but also of the great trading activities along the Northern and Southern Routes, mentioned in the *Ch'ien Han-shu*.[6] Sources may be quoted to show that the knowledge of Buddhism percolated to Han China from the Yueh-chih dominated India and through *inter alia* the above mentioned routes perhaps as a result of activities of traders, envoys, hostages, refugees, (missionaries?), etc.[7] In short, an analysis of the history of the introduction of Buddhism into China indicates that common men were as much purveyors of Indian culture as the political powers. Other sections of the chapter on the migration or dissemination of ideas may further substantiate this point.

Our task will not end with the classification of and discussion on sources in the chapters suggested above. We shall have to recount in a separate section the chief characteristics of Ancient Indian civilization, clearly pointing out the extra-Indian sources of their inspirations and indicating the influences of geographical and ethnic factors on them. Here we may also discuss the advisability of retaining the current names for the different phases of Ancient Indian civilization like those of the Harappan Civilization, Vedic Civilization, etc., and consequently, of acknowledging the plurality of civilization in Ancient India. Another section should analyse the influence of Ancient Indian civilization on the outside world.

A section may be devoted to the comparison of Ancient Indian civilization with other civilizations, even though it is admittedly difficult and also, to some extent, pseudo-scientific to make such a comparative study since each civilization flourished under certain peculiar conditions. The applicability of some relevant theories of certain modern thinkers including A. J. Toynbee to the study of the Indian civilization may be examined in another section.[8] All these sections may form parts of one single chapter, or the subjects concerned may be treated in different chapters.

The epilogue of the book should first discern the features of Ancient Indian civilization which are common to a majority of the other Asian civilizations. This will determine how much, from the cultural (and not only geographical) point of view, Indian civilization has been a part of 'Asian civilization', and also will assess the quantum of the Indian ingredient in the image of 'Asian civilization'.[9] The epilogue should then enumerate the features of Early Indian civilization which have survived through the Medieval age into Modern times. Although India is now changing at a rapid speed, the velocity being greater than in any earlier period of its history, Ancient India still lives, to some extent, amongst its teeming population.

NOTES

1. For a discussion on the nature of sources of the history of Ancient India, see R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Vedic Age*, The History and Culture of the Indian People, vol. I, 2nd impression, London, 1952, pp. 47f.
2. For a thorough discussion on the problem, see E. Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, vol. 1, Leiden, 1959, pp. 19f.
3. Fan Yeh, *Hou Han-shu*, (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition); E. Zurcher, *op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 19.
4. *Fan-Yeh, op. cit.*, ch. 118, p. 9b.
5. *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pt. I, pp. 1f.
6. Pan Ku (completed by Pan Chao), *Ch'ien Han-shu* (T'ung-wen shu-chu edition), ch. 96A.
7. In this connection see also E. Zurcher, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 23f.
8. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. 1, sixth impression, London, 1955, pp. 51f. Some of the theories of Kant (*Idea of a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan point of view*, 1784), Herder (*Ideas for a Philosophical History of Mankind*, 1784), Hegel (*Lectures on the Philosophy of History*), F. Harrison (*Meaning of History*), K. Marx (*Communist Manifesto* of 1848), Spengler (*Decline of the West : an Outline of a Morphology of History*), etc., may be relevant to our study.
9. This should be one of the main purposes of launching a project for compiling a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian civilization.

BAIDYANATH SARASWATI

Methodology of a Sourcebook

A SOURCEBOOK on a civilization ought to be one which provides the reader with a wide range of topics related to that civilization. It should be a kind of ready-reference which may also guide further readings on each of the topics treated. Indeed, it should have the quality of a digest, a reference book, and a book of knowledge written dispassionately in a lucid language. Moreover, the topics covered in a Sourcebook should be arranged in an alphabetical order under each major subject. The materials may be presented in the form of a digest, with the difference that the original materials are placed as accurately as possible. Utmost care must be taken to record authentic dates and cite original sources.

One of the perspectives which the contributors of a Sourcebook must always keep in mind is that the extent of excellence which the civilization has reached in the field they are treating comes out fully in the presentation. For instance, one who is writing on Ancient Indian pottery must present his material in such a way that the extent to which the civilization has reached in perfecting the technology and inculcating the sense of æsthetics becomes quite obvious. Similarly, in treating the non-material topics, such as religion or social laws, the fundamental concepts and social significance must be highlighted.[1]

A comparison between two civilizations may be finally done on quantitative data. It has often been seen that on the basis of only a few non-related traits, cleverly chosen for the purpose, one tries to see a closer affinity between two cultures or civilizations which are indeed basically different from one another. For instance, one or two common traits between the Indian and European Civilization do not mean anything unless it is shown that both of them share among themselves a few characteristic core-elements. Similarly, the spread of Buddhism in China does not make the case of a civilizational unity between the two countries. The affinity or distance between two civilizations should be shown only on the basis of the amount of similarity or difference in their total cultural traditions. This means that one will have to examine a large number of elements covering all of the aspects of a civilization.

The most suitable method of showing the civilizational affinity is the one which is applied in anthropology to the study of cultures. Kroeber, Gifford and Wissler had used the culture-element distribution method in the study of primitive cultures. In a somewhat simpler or modified form the same method has been applied in the study of pottery-making cultures in India.[2] It was found very useful in showing cultural affinity between the peasant potters scattered in different parts of the country, and may be considered as one of the methods of showing attributional affinity between the geographically separated cultures which cannot be treated at an interactional level. This method may, therefore, enable us to establish quantitatively the extent of cultural affinity or difference between the various civilizations.

On the Contents

A Sourcebook on Ancient Indian Civilization may be written out in eleven sections, in the following order:

I. General Introduction; methods and scope of the work; technical hints; geographical introduction; historical introduction (chronology, culture-contact, migration etc.); ethnological introduction (racial or ethnic classification etc.); references and indices.
II. Material Culture.
III. People and Society.
IV. Productive Organization; trade and commerce.
V. Political Structure.
VI. Religion and Philosophy.
VII. Arts, Aesthetics and Science.
VIII. Language and Literature.
IX. Education and Institutions.
X. Ancient Indian Concepts and Cosmology.
XI. General Analysis; notes and references.

NOTES

1. In this context I may refer to Mircea Eliade's book, *From Primitives to Zen*, (New York, Harper & Row, 1967) which is a thematic sourcebook on the history of religion. In the selection of concepts, for instance, the major recurrent themes from the representative texts may be reproduced and arranged according to a time-sequence. Perhaps, at this point, comparative materials on the same subject from other civilizations may be utilized, wherever necessary, to show their similarities and differences.

2 Saraswati, Baidyanath, *Pottery-making Cultures and Indian Civilization*, Ranchi; a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Ranchi University, 1967.

VIDYA NIWAS MISRA

Methodology : Some Thoughts

(i) IN THE context of Asia, we should focus our attention on certain central concepts, themes, motifs, modes and mores of India which have inspired other Asian cultures particularly in South-East Asia to shape cultural values which have come closest in harmony with the Indian hierarchy of values. As it is a characteristic of the Ancient Indian Civilization that philosophy, religion, ritual, art-forms, social structure and even secular life are all inter-twined, it would be better if we select some vitally important ideas and try to find illustrations of the execution of these at the various levels. In this manner, it may become possible to deal with some problems which relate to a mutual understanding of these civilizations, specially the interaction between India and South-East Asia. However, the salient features of other Asian civilizations could be discussed in outline. But if we confine ourselves to South and South-East Asia we need not have separate volumes on each region. Instead, we should arrange our materials topic-wise and give regional variations.

(ii) In the context of chronology, the upper limit should not be made too rigid, as vital developments have taken place in the field of scholasticism, art and architecture even upto the 18*th* century. It is possible that in the field of social institutions and domestic life-patterns, 1300-1400 A.D. could perhaps be thought of as the upper limit.

(iii) In the context of methodology, a Sourcebook should not be mere readings. The textual material should come after the interpretation part of the Sourcebook under each topic, so that the former could serve as an illustration of the premises we formulate in our plan. This alone would enable a Sourcebook to be something different. Furthermore, preferably, the entire arrangement may be made from an Indian point of view, i.e. within its concepts and notions of civilization. Hence, we should try to reconstruct these concepts and notions which are relevant in the different phases of Indian civilization. For instance, we may try to think about the central theme which for our purpose enables us to locate certain evergrowing vital forces that are present in Indian civilization. These may include such categories as, attitude towards death, life-cycle, macrocosmos and microcosmos, *Rita, Satya* and *Dharma,* hierarchy of values—ranging from three (*Artha, Kama, Dharma*) to four (*Artha, Kama, Dharma, Moksa*), and to five (*Artha, Kama Dharma, Moksa, Bhakti*) *Purusarthas;* the interplay of the Great and the Little Traditions, and that Indian Tradition which transcends History, etc.

(iv) There should be a general introduction giving an outline of the plan, which places it in a broader perspective of its relevance in bringing an understanding among the important world civilizations. But a review of the primary and the secondary sources is not so relevant and could be dropped out. However, illustrations would be essential and we should also include folk-material while selecting illustrations for this purpose. Similarly, folk-lore would be a useful source, in so far as it shows a living embodiment of the *Shastric* tradition and so far as it is a rejuvenating force of the *Shastric* tradition itself. Again, wall-paintings or floor-floral designs, ritual folk-songs and folk-story motifs would definitely be relevant in this context.

ROMILA THAPAR

An Outline of a Scheme[*]

AN OUTLINE of a scheme, with reference to the contents of a Sourcebook may be as follows:

1. *Introduction:* An outline of the nature of the sources utilized, and the aims of a Sourcebook would be presented here.
2. *Technology and Applied Sciences:* This chapter would utilize archæological, anthropological and literary sources.
3. *Economic Organisation.*
4. *Social and Political Organisation and Law:* These topics may be split up into different chapters, as shown below.
5. *Aesthetics and Fine Arts:* It would include such subjects as sculpture, painting, architecture, music, dance, drama, etc.
6. *Language, Literature and Script.*
7. *Mythology, Cosmology and Religion.*
8. *Philosophy, Concepts of History, Abstract Sciences.*
9. *Concepts.*

In addition, one volume may be devoted to an annotated bibliography which would also give details about the location of the material.

As an example, the details of one of the above-mentioned chapters—the one on Social and Political Organisation—may be as follows:

(a) Family: Attitudes, organisation of life, rites, customs.
(b) Tribe and Clan.
(c) *Jati* and *Varna.*
(d) Customary law and law generally relating to the above categories.

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[*] This scheme was presented by Romila Thapar during the discussions and is based on it.—Editor.

(e) Laws of property and inheritance.

(f) State and Society.

(g) Saptanga theory of state, taking each constituent of Saptanga in turn.

(h) Social groups involved in administration.

(i) Education; institution of education, contents of education, relationship with society and its aims.

UTILISATION OF SOURCES: EXAMPLES

LITERARY TEXTS
AND
LINGUISTICS

V. RAGHAVAN

Utilisation of Literary Material in Sanskrit

For the Ancient Indian part of this project, the primary sources of culture and civilization lie in Sanskrit in which, for convenience, we may include the Prakrits also. To adopt the prevalent periodization and chronology, the earliest of the Sanskrit material is represented by the *Rigveda* extending in the space-time context to its Indo-Iranian and North-West Indian provenance to the Gangetic doab and further east and south. In the West, the vogue of the *Rigvedic* gods extended even upto Anatolia. The modes of worship, ideas on the forces of nature, life, death and after-life, the reign of *Rita* and *Dharma,* the dedicatory and austere ideology of life as expressed in *Vrata* and *Yajna,* as also daily life, avocations, community-performances—the sacrifices, festivals, etc.—social formations, sense of community and consciousness of a common culture, values and mission; on all these the *Rigvedic* material is quite rich and full in its coverage. In the *Brahmanas,* the further growth of ideas, particularly on the sacrifice as the most common large-scale social and religious participation may be traced. It is from the *Brahmanas* again that we have the ideas on the emergence of the polity, of the need for a ruler [*Raja*], the state or *Rastra,* the counsellors, the marriage of spiritual and temporal power [*Brahma* and *Ksatra*], as also the details of the coronation ceremony [*Abhiseka*]. The *Brahmanas* as the seed-bed of most of the tendencies that had persisted and dominated the Indian mind should also be adequately projected; along with the use of myths and symbols, etymologies and esoteric interpretations, and speculations into the supra-mundane, the last leading upto the *Upanishads* and their philosophical thought, covering a wide spectrum of doctrines, monistic-impersonal as well as dualistic-theistic. The dominant spiritual orientation to the whole culture which the *Upanishads* gave should be underlined.

While the *Rig* and *Yajur Vedas* provide the material for the study of the aspects mentioned above, the *Atharva Veda* is to be exploited for presenting the more popular, as well as active, aspects of the life of Ancient India, of wars, agriculture, domestic life, medicine and magic. Folk-elements in the culture, not so clear in the other *Vedas,* are to be drawn from the *Atharva Veda.* The popular and folk material of the *Vedic* period is to be prepared and presented adequately.

The importance of the six *Vedangas* or the disciplines ancillary to the mastery, preservation, understanding and use of the *Vedas,* together with the four *Upavedas,* is to be realised for the beginnings of scientific and technological knowledge, as also artistic developments; phonetics and linguistic analysis, semantics and etymology, mathematics, geometry and astronomy, metre, music, archery and military science and medicine grew up. Linguistics, including semantics, is to be specially noticed as it was the exemplar of scientific analysis and it dominated all schools of philosophy and logic, besides the allied field of rhetoric. By *Samskara* and *Vyutpatti* a grammatically, correctly structured word, analysable into its component parts, base and affixes and terminations, is the very symbol of a synthesis of a unity in diversity, which is the most prominent, significant and persisting character of the very culture and civilization of which that language, Sanskrit, was the vehicle and repository. Numbers, upto thirteen digits, with names for each [*Dasa* to *Parardha*] already appear in the *Yajurveda Samhitas.* The zero and the place value and decimal system are credited generally to Ancient India, but this is also questioned by some scientists, and the problem is worth a fresh examination. The construction of *Vedic* altars and the *Sulba Sutras* dealing with them and to which Pythogorus was indebted, gives us an insight into the development of geometrical knowledge in Ancient India *vis-a-vis* the nature and extent of this knowledge among other nations of antiquity. According to J. Filliozat[1] the evidence is in favour of the Greek and Babylonian astronomical ideas having been taken from India, particularly when Greece and the Indus Valley were the two outermost limbs of the Persian empire. David Pingree of Chicago, who has examined hundreds of astronomical and astrological manuscripts in the Middle East and European libraries, brings to light some of the manuscript materials showing Indian influence on early Sassanian and Arabic astronomy. He says in this connection ". . . . the study of the transmission of astronomy and astrology from one nation to another is not only a fascinating subject in itself, but also one of our surest tools for investigating the historical intercourse between the various cultures of the world."[2] The extensive later literature on *jyotisa* places at our disposal materials for a connected history of Ancient Indian mathematics and geometry, in which we have had only a few studies by Datta and Singh and a few other scholars. There are astronomical events in *Vedic* literature pointing to the antiquity and date of the *Vedas,* on which Jacobi, Tilak and more recently P. C. Sen Gupta[3] have worked. Apart from several portions of the *Rigveda* describing the dawn and the sun and the *Brahmanas* dealing with the sacrifices of long durations and their correlations to the days and *muhurtas* of the year [*Samvatsara*] and the syllables of the text, the new moon and the full moon, the northern and southern courses of the sun [*Ayanas*] and the seasons, the opening section of the *Taittiriya Aranyaka* referred to as the *Aruna Kathaka* or more popularly *Surya-namaskara* provides a record of observations of the various atmospheric phenomena, the sun and its course, and the resultant atmospheric and terrestrial changes. A section of the *Brahmana* of the same *Veda,* describing the 27 constellations and their characteristics, the *Vedanga Jyotisa* and some of the *Kalpas* and *Parisistas* of the *Atharva Veda* provide data for tracing the growth of astronomical knowledge. But to more of this and to medicine, we shall come later.

In the *Satarudriya* section of the *Krishna Yajurveda,* the well-known hymns describing *Siva* as being of the form of all kinds of persons, high and low, many avocations and occupational workers figure; the Epics also refer to different classes of workers all of which include information on implements and tools of agriculture, water-lifting, weaving, building, pottery, iron-foundry, and so on. Military implements figure in the Epics—bridges, stone-throwing machines [*Yantras*], arrows with metal-heads, metal clubs, spears and so on. I have collected all the available material in Sanskrit on mechanical contrivances of Ancient India, in a special monograph of that name.[4] A connected account of Indian technology is a desideratum.

The two *Itihasas,* the Epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* form a thesaurus of information throwing light on all aspects of the history, life and culture of the peoples of that age, tribes, and ruling families and dynasties, geography of the country and its neighbourhood, as also of distant parts of the world, the developed and undeveloped societies and areas, commercial organisations, polity, its limbs and forms of government, life in home, palace, countryside and forest, the role of the forests, deforestation and founding of cities and state-capitals and settlement of people, the condition of learning, arts, occupations, ethics, philosophy—these and other materials are to be extracted from the Epics. All this is in addition to the primary significance of the Epics as poems, the sources of Indian poetry and other forms of literature. As guides to the people and as moulders of human character and the norms of righteous conduct, the special role of the two Epics and their hold over the hearts and minds of the masses—which has few parallels among the poems of ancient nations and which continues to this day—is to be noted. The data of the Epics have to be fully exploited. Does not the *Mahabharata* declare about itself: "Whatever be the field of human aspiration—virtue, material welfare, enjoyment and spiritual effort, in all these what is found here is found elsewhere, what is not here is not to be found elsewhere."

A subject common to the two Epics and the prodigious *Puranic* literature is geography, not only of India and its immediate neighbourhood but also of the entire world as known then, of the continents and countries [*Khandas* and *Varsas*] and the seas, and their inhabitants, *Bhuvanakosa,* and the larger Universe or Cosmos, and the cyclic creations and dissolutions. The *Bhuvanakosa* is a fascinating study; the *Itihasa-Puranas* evidently preserve the race-memory of a people who had been residents and travellers over a great part of the world and the data incorporated in the *Bhuvanakosa* sections in the *Itihasas* and *Puranas* include obviously information on several nations of antiquity and their geographical habitat. On the trans-Indian material in these geographical accounts, there have been only sporadic studies; on the whole range of the geographical knowledge in these writings, two recent studies may be mentioned: *The Geography of the Puranas,*[5] and *Development of Geographical Knowledge in Ancient India.*[6] Even if we are not able to identify correctly the peoples called the *Devas, Asuras, Danavas, Gandharvas, Nagas, Yaksas, Raksasas, Kinnaras, Siddhas, Sadhyas, Panis,* etc., and their regions comprising different *Dvipas,* mountains, forests, river-basins, deserts, the *Patala,* etc., it is clear that a pan-Asian if not a still wider geographical horizon is given in these accounts in the *Itihasas* and *Puranas.* The story of *Prithu* levelling the surface of the earth which came to be called after him *Prithvi,* the story of mountains flying across and then settling down, all these bear geographical and geological significance.

The *Puranas* developed the *Tirtha-Yatra* of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahabharata* on a pan-Indian scale and this institution of *Tirtha-Yatra* acted as one of the most potent forces in fostering the territorial and cultural unity of the country, which was further strengthened by the net-work of holy spots and temples, hallowed by saints and incarnations and forms of divinity; pilgrimage [*Tirtha-Yatra* and *Ksetratana*] became one of the objectives of one's life and by traversing the length and breadth of the country and pouring a pot of *Ganga-jala* on *Ramesvara-Linga,* each individual participated in and gave expression to this unity.

The codification of the virtues, norms and ideals of life and the occupations and activities of the different social groups which had been articulated in the *Vedas* and presented concretely in the heroes, heroines and other characters of the Epics, was the work of the *Dharma Sutras* and *Dharma Sastras* of Manu, Gautama, Apastamba, Yajnavalkya, etc. In respect of concepts lying at the very base of life and animating it, this branch of Sanskrit literature is of direct importance, as it supplies the ready-made frames or patterns which identify the Indian life and personality, the *Varna,* the *Asrama,* the *Samskaras* and the *Dharmas* of each. If Panini, with his *Samskara* or refinement, determined the language, Manu, with his *Samskara* or sacramental refinement, determined our whole life. This codification of the *Dharma Sastra* is not a steel-frame; from *Vedic* times, flexible factors existed and internal mobility, as well as external accession, was not ruled out or kept out. There was the *Vedic Vratya-stoma* for incorporation of groups not conforming to the pattern;

Varnotkarsa or class-escalation continued into late historical times, when many ruling families took higher names affiliated to ancient *Ksatriya* dynasties, performed sacrifices, etc. There are the *Desacaras,* regional customs and manners and folk practices—all of which find accommodation under the over-all *Dharma,* provided they do not contradict it.

How this has played a great role in the evolution of the Indian people as a nation, how the Little Traditions got dovetailed or absorbed into the Great Tradition, has been attempted in "Variety and Integration in the Pattern of Indian Culture".[7]

The *Puranas*—the encyclopædias that they are—embody a line of this integration in respect of the diverse forms of worship, from the adoration of trees, plants, animals, etc., to the manifold forms of divinities. All these were synthesised or arranged according to the twin doctrines of *Istadevata* and *Adhikara-bheda* and diversity of forms and approaches in an ascending ladder leading to the religion and philosophy of the one God or Truth; when we remember that the *Rigveda* had proclaimed at so early a stage in the history of Indian culture that Truth was one but the sages called it by many names, we shall be able to appreciate how from the most ancient Vamadeva to the modern Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, this belief has been the tonic note of the symphony of this culture.

Kautilya is thorough and his *Artha Sastra,* another encyclopædia of Indian Civilization. Its primary subject is polity and government but as everything comes under government there is hardly any aspect of life and activity which the *Artha Sastra* does not mirror. Kautilya gives in the concept of *Chakravarttin* and *Chakravartti-Ksetra* the idea of one country united under one sovereign. His *Mandala*-theory and the disposition of friendly and inimical powers is a contribution to the problems of war and peace and external relations. In internal administration, in intelligence and the rooting out of the thorns [*Kantakasodhana*] comprising internal enemies, traitors, spies, corrupt officials etc., Kautilya's genius leaves out not even a minute detail. Even so, exploiting the natural resources on land or sea, production, trade and commerce inland and overseas, on city-laying and fortification, on occupations, revenue, taxation and many other subjects, Kautilya deals with these so as to give a whole picture of a welfare state under a benevolent monarchy. He speaks of republics also.

Side by side with the *Artha Sastra* is another encyclopædic work sharing many literary features with Kautilya's work, the *Kama Sutras* of Vatsyayana. The two together give the answer to the criticism that the Indian attitude is other-worldly, world-negating, abstemious and self-denying. If Kautilya enunciated at the very outset the idea that man should not deprive himself of happiness, Vatsyayana augments it. Social life, education and cultivation of artistic pursuits and accomplishments, social festivities and celebrations, conditions relating to love at all levels, dress, decoration etc., are all reflected here. A third encyclopædic work, having closer affinity with Vatsyayana's is Bharata's *Natya Sastra* where again, besides music, dance, drama and poetry, different parts of the country and their peoples and languages, regional dress, manners, complexion, colours and their mixing, ornaments and their varieties are described.

Intellectual development, academic pursuits and the cultivation of arts and crafts and useful skills, recreational activities, literary and otherwise, sports and pastime—all these were part and parcel of Ancient Indian education which did not stop with the scriptures and the philosophies. These diverse pursuits again are set forth in the *Kama Sutras* and should be taken into consideration when giving an account of Ancient Indian education.

We now come to a branch of Sanskrit literature which constitutes the peak of its intellectual attainment, the *Shastras*. Apart from the intrinsic value of grammar, Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali have furnished in their works, the *Sutras, Varttikas* and *Mahabhasya,* a mine of information.[8] Among these, *Vyakarana* or grammar and linguistics, has been mentioned already. The *Vakya* or *Purvamimamsa* deals with the interpretation of sentences or statements and the principles involved therein. The third is *Pramana* or logic or correct thinking. These three go together as the *sine-qua-non* of scholarship. Who is a sound scholar? The Sanskrit literary tradition replies—a *Pada-vakya-pramana-jna,* a master of the grammar of thought, word and expression and interpretation. In *Pramana* are included logic and the atomic theory of the Universe of the *Nyaya* and *Vaisesika* schools. The *Samkhya* was the first philosophy of a reaction to ritual and action and the declaration of knowledge as the means of salvation. Its doctrine of the three *Gunas—Sattva, Rajas, Tamas*—provided a universal tool of analysis for classifying things. It provided also the main philosophical background to Epic poetry and its doctrines of the three *Gunas* and the separation of *Purusa* and *Prakriti* and its theory of causation *Satkarya-vada,* which was known to Greek philosophers, were assimilated in *Vedanta.* The *Vedanta,* in its different interpretations, is the philosophy of India par excellence. In India, it superseded the other schools of philosophy—which, particularly after Shankara, fell back as mere intellectual disciplines. The *Nyaya* or system of logic may be specially noted for its contribution to the methodology of elucidation, debate and discussion, in its neo-school of Mithila and Navadvipa, for its perfection of the techniques of a precise definition of concepts, of forging thought-measuring formulae for the relations of categories and of their internal components like substance and its attributes, and also of its semantic analysis of sentences and predications and of the exact connotations of propositions—*Vyutpattivada.* To revert to *Vedanta;* Shankara strode over the whole field of philosophy like a colossus; his epoch saw not only the other orthodox systems vanishing into silhouettes in the background but the decline of the major rival, Buddhism, like a giant Banyan tree whose main trunk disappeared but whose offshoots took root over a wide world, all around India. Shankara gave by his interpretation and rejuvenation of the philosophy of the *Upanisads* and by his mission all over the land a fresh realisation of the unity of the country and culture, and a spiritual outlook and universalism comprehending within itself all the paths and approaches, which has since remained the dominant Indian attitude. The *Vedanta* has indeed been this thing of destiny since its beginnings; in ancient times it influenced several schools of Greek thought, in medieval times, it influenced Sufism and in modern times, its sway over the Western mind has been steadily growing. The *Yoga,* the systematisation of the *Tapas* of the *Vedas* and *Itihasas,* as a process of physical, mental and moral discipline, became the common *Sadhana* for followers of all the schools of thought, including Jainism and Buddhism. Its influence today is worldwide but it had exerted this, along with the *Vedanta,* from the time of the early Greek philosophers.

Apart from its being a source for history and culture, classical Sanskrit literature holds its own place as one of the high peaks of the achievements of the Indian æsthetic genius. In the words of one of its standard historians, A. B. Keith, the *Kavya* literature includes some of the great poetry of the world. Sanskrit poetry or drama has to be judged or enjoyed on its own norms, as any form of artistic expression has to be. Whatever be the shortcomings of the study and approach of the Orientalist, who concentrated on dates and chronologies and dry descriptive accounts with a few strokes of the tar-brush or an occasional spray of fragrant praise, some justice from the point of view of enjoying it as literature and presenting it to the general lover of literature in the West has been attempted by Ingalls in his volume in the Harvard Series entitled *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry.* More remains to be done by way of justice to Sanskrit poetry and indeed to all the Indian *Kavya.*

The case is better in respect of Sanskrit drama in which there is a world, outside the Orientalist's room, as in the case of *Vedanta,* devoted to theatre that is becoming more and more interested in Indian drama, which by its antiquity, variety and intrinsic artistic worth, holds much that adds to the inspiration of the experimentalist today who is looking out for lines of fresh developments. As a historian of drama says, after all, in the long gap between Greek drama and the Renaissance drama, it is Sanskrit drama which fills the pages of the history of world drama.

The *Mahakavya,* which is an extension of the *Itihasa* and the *Nataka,* held up the ideal of the *Mahapurusa* or *Dhirodatta,* the sublime type of hero. It is in the *Prakarana,* social play, that the picture of society is given; and the foremost specimen of this class, the *Mrcchakatika* indeed is full of interesting data, including the actual judicial conduct of a criminal case. In both classes, the *Mahakavya* and *Nataka,* as well as the *Prakarana* and the *Natika,* there are historical specimens which are to be utilised along with epigraphy and other historical sources. The *Malavikagnimitra,* the *Mrcchakatika,* the *Mudraraksasa,* the *Devicandragupta* whose large fragments fill a gap in Gupta history contain historical material. Prologues and epilogues of several plays refer to ruling kings who patronised the poets.

Historical writings begin with the *Purana,* one of its five topics is *Vamasanucarita* or history of the royal dynasties, and in some of the major *Puranas* we have these dynastic lists which have been specially studied by Pargiter and used by historians. In classical literature, the leading historical work is Bana's life of Harsavardhana of Kanauj. The historical *Mahakavyas* are of some value for several local dynasties. But the most important work of historical value—which throws considerable light on administration, society, life and learning—is Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (A.D. 1148-1150) on the history of Kashmir; before Kalhana, Ksemendra, Helaraja, Chavillakara and Sankuka, wrote such histories, all of which Kalhana used.

It is often regretted that Indian writers lacked a historical sense. If they were totally devoid of it, how do we explain the huge mass of epigraphs, only part of which have been copied and studied ? Apart from the epigraphs and dynastic history in the *Puranas* and historical poems and prose works, it will be worthwhile (as I have pleaded in my Presidential address to the XXIst *AIOC*) if in our project we also discuss the Indian conception of history and historiography, as part of Indian ideology, world view and the concepts of time and progress.

The *Vedas,* the six *Vedangas,* the four *Upavedas,* the *Itihasa-purana, Dharma, Sastra* and *Kavya;* this successive expansion of the range of knowledge and intellectual activity, completed in the body of practical knowledge and accomplishments, is compendiously put together as the 64 arts, *Catussasti-kalas.* Herein are not only the literary arts and fine arts—music, drama and painting, but a whole series of accomplishments, skills, useful arts and crafts, recreation-aids, etc. all going into the enrichment of life, an ideal of a life beautiful in which a synthesis was evolved between the needs and impulses of the here with those of the hereafter; an ideal portrayed by Kalidasa, Sudraka and Bhavabhuti in their artistic creations. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the growth at this stage, of a class of Sanskrit works carrying succint accounts, of all these above mentioned ramified branches of Sanskrit learning, notable examples of which are the *Manasollosa* or *Abhilasitartha-cintamani* of the Calukya King Somesvara (A.D. 1131) and the *Sivatattva-ratnakara* of King Keladi Basava (A.D. 1684-1700). It may be noted that kings are associated with both these thesaureses; it shows the role of the royal court in fostering and holding forth before the people this picture of a life of zest and fullness.

The materials in Sanskrit form the sole basis for building up Indian æsthetics. The major contribution to this is the theory of *Rasa* of poetics and dramaturgy as set forth by Bharata and a succession of critics, who developed several theories culminating in that of the *Rasa-dhvani* doctrine of Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. On drama, the theory of Greek influence has often been mentioned by Western scholars, but the absence in Sanskrit drama of tragedy in the Greek sense and of the unities of time and place would go against this theory. A few writers have tried to compare Bharata and Aristotle, but the question has not been taken up seriously yet. The *Rasa-dhvani* theory is extended to painting on which there are a few texts, which I have surveyed in my article on Sanskrit texts on painting.[9] The *Silpa Sastra* comprises quite a considerable number of texts dealing with architecture and iconography and this subject forms also a substantial part of the branch of knowledge called *Agama,* which in its divisions of *Saiva, Vaisnava* and *Sakta,* forms another prolific class of Sanskrit writings. The *Agamas, Saiva* and *Vaisnava* (*Vaikhanasa* and *Pancaratra*) are closely related to worship in temples, as also to personal worship.

In music, the Indian system offers the richest in respect of melodic modes, rhythmic varieties, the number and variety of instruments and compositions. Starting with the *Sama Veda* and its *Laksana* texts including the *Narada Siksa,* the art has been described and codified in numerous works, the earliest of which is Bharata's *Natya Sastra.* I have made a survey of this Sanskrit Sangita Literature.[10] During its development, Indian music took in a lot of regional and folk material and Indian music and dance, in their concepts of *Marga* and *Desi* offered a pattern of integration of the classical tradition and the folk or local modes and practices. I have discussed this in a paper on "The Popular and the Classical in Music".[11] Wherever, in the ancient times, Indian culture spread, Indian music was also taken; it was taken to China; all over South-East Asia, along with dance and dance-drama, it had complete sway.

The same large body of Sanskrit texts which deal with music deal with Indian dance too; there are also many texts dealing exclusively with dance; here again, the rich variety of classical forms leading upto dance-dramas, and the elaborate language of gestures and their use in the minute interpretation of the theme form the speciality of Indian dance. As in music, so here too, there is a codification of a large number of local dance forms, brought under the sophisticated *Nritta* and *Nritya* of the classical tradition.

It is such a complete art of *Natya,* of *Nritta* and *Nritya, Gita* and *Vadya* which was applied to the presentation of the drama of Kalidasa and Sudraka and which endowed the Sanskrit production with a special distinction. And it is in this form that the art went over to South-East Asia, where, in the *Ramayana—Mahabharata* plays of Indonesia and in the *Ramayana*-plays of

Thailand, it still lives, preserving aspects of the art and techniques which have been lost in India. An effort which the Ministry is just now initiating for a study and recovery of these aspects of the art of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*, surviving in the archipelago, is to be welcomed.

After spices, ivory and peacock, and *Vedantic* and Buddhistic ideas, fables and chess, and numbers and the sciences of *Jyotisa* (mathematics and astronomy) and *Ayurveda* (medicine) figured as the chief exports. Of the book of animal fables, the *Pancatantra*, Edgerton says: "No other Hindu work has played so important a part in world literature. It was first rendered into Pahlavi, and from this no less than 200 versions in no less than 50 languages, of which three-fourths are non-Indian, arose. During the Caliphate, the Middle East and India, particularly Sind, were in close intellectual collaboration and Sanskrit treatises in *Jyotisa* and medicine were translated into Arabic. Indian doctors were invited to cure the Rulers of dire ailments." In addition to the treatises already known and mentioned earlier, David Pingree, has, through his visits to and explorations in the Middle East, made many interesting discoveries in Indo-Greek and Indo-Arabic astronomical and astrological texts. As already mentioned, this was a two-way traffic. That Greek and Roman astronomical thought influenced the Indian is clear not only from the occurrence of Greek terms in the Sanskrit texts, but in whole systems like *Romaka* and *Paulisa* among the five *Siddhantas,* and in whole Sanskrit texts like the *Yavanajataka* and *Minarajajataka* which were composed by Greeks, like Sphujidhvajg attached to *Kstrapa* rulers in Western India, and in terms of the great regard in which Garga acknowledges indebtedness to the *Yavanas,* whom he refers to as deserving of respect like their own *Risis.* The later Sanskrit texts called *Tajika* were derived from the Arabic ones.

The process continued after the Muslim invasions and their rule of India. Following up the *Vedantic* influence on Sufism, on which recently fresh light has been thrown by the present Spalding Professor at Oxford, R. C. Zæhner,[12] Sanskrit Epics and religious and philosophical works were actively translated into Persian, the whole movement culminating in Dara Shikuh's *Sir-i-Akbar* from whose Latin version the knowledge of *Vedanta* spread in the West.

Medicine or the *Veda* of life had, as already pointed out, its origin in the *Veda* and the *Upaveda.* Dr. Filliozat has argued that Indian medicine was known to the Greeks. It spread over Central Asia, as the discovery of the Bower manuscript has shown. Translations of Sanskrit texts, on the poison given by Canakya, of Caraka and Susruta, of the Nidana, etc. and the vogue of Indian doctors in the Middle East in the 8*th* century have been referred to. Buddhists and Jains too took part in its development of *Ayurveda.* The literature of *Ayurveda* in Sanskrit is not only large but covers all the departments of treatment including that of horses and elephants. Ancient Indian Surgery and surgical instruments, known throughout the Middle East, led to the adoption and further development of these in Europe. Some bold operations done by Ancient Indian surgeons were also taken up by the West. In South-East Asia, the *Ayurveda* of India prevailed and continues to be practised.

As more and more of the Buddhist texts from the ruins of Central Asian monasteries came to light, it became clear that Buddhism had a parallel canon in the Sanskrit medium. Later, when its teachers had to wrestle hard with those of the Indian orthodox schools, they had to write their dialectical works in Sanskrit. A galaxy of Buddhist metaphysicians and logicians, Nagarjuna, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Dharmapala illumined the history of Indian philosophy with their brilliant contributions. *Madhyamika* metaphysics developed as one of the high watermarks of the Indian mind. Crossing over the period of Kumarila and Sankara, the succession of Buddhist logicians continued to the times of Udayana after which, at about the time of the Muslim invasions, Buddhism disappeared. Whether it was because of the triumph of the three luminaries on the side of the orthodox systems, Kumarila, Sankara and Udayana or because of the destruction of its great monastic centres by Muslim invasions, Buddhism bowed out, after making for about fifteen centuries magnificent contributions to Indian philosophy and the arts of painting and sculpture and carrying Indianism and Indian ideas to different parts of the world. On Indian thought, it acted as a powerful catalytic agent and left its lasting impression with its doctrines of the *Bodhisattva* and the mission of *Karuna.* Buddhism spread earlier in the West before it did so in the East and South-East. The wide prevalence of Buddhism in the Middle East and Europe and the impact of its ideas at a time when Christianity arose and its doctrines developed, have formed the subject of some interesting studies. In the evolution of the personality of Christ and in parts of the Bible, parallels have been pointed out but this subject has not attracted its due attention. The story of the spread of Buddhism to Central Asia, China, Japan and also to Korea, and nearer home into Tibet, has been studied a great deal as its materials are ample. The growth of the so-called Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit may, in part, be the result of the adoption of Sanskrit as a medium of expression of Buddhist teachers and writers in the areas outside India. In the whole history of the commerce of knowledge there is hardly a parallel to this continuous Indo-Chinese participation for some centuries during which Buddhist China sat as *Chela* at the feet of its *Guru,* India. Chinese pilgrims visited India as their holy land, carried loads of Buddhist work and with the help of a host of Indian monks who visited and stayed there, translated the Sanskrit Buddhist works into Chinese.[13] According to Bagchi, over 2000 Sanskrit works, as listed in the old catalogues, were translated with the help of about 103 Sanskrit scholars from India[14] and this corpus of translations is of use not only in editing the Sanskrit originals covered by them but also include works whose originals have been lost in India. This activity led to the cultivation of Sanskrit in China for a long time and the wider influence on the development of literature, the arts of painting, music and dance, and of medicine, astrology, etc. Buddhism went to Japan in 552 A.D.; some of the Sanskrit manuscripts there are in archaic Brahmi and today, according to Nakamura, outside India the largest number of students of Sanskrit, Indian religion and philosophy, and Pali and Buddhism are to be found in Japan.

The spread of Buddhism was more complete and enduring in the next door neighbours; in Tibet where, again, a library of translations from Buddhist texts, especially *Tantrik,* and some non-religious texts from Sanskrit exists; and in Burma and Ceylon where it spread in its Pali form. In Ceylon, the influence of Sanskrit was not insignificant and one of the major *Mahakavyas* in Sanskrit, the *Janakiharana* of Kumaradasa comes from the island, and even some Sanskrit works on technical subjects like medicine were produced there. In Ceylon, as part of the continuous influence and contact of Tamil, *Saivism* and Tamil music, dance and drama established themselves.

Perhaps the most fascinating of the pages of the history and role of Sanskrit and of the literature, religions and arts embedded in it in countries outside India, where the influence abides in a lasting manner to this day, is what happened in the South-East Asian countries, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. The influence spread further from these areas to the Philippines as the study of this by a student of mine J. R. Fransisco shows[15]. The highlights of this influence are in art, in the temples and their sculptures—of which Borobudar and Ankor-Wat stand out as the greatest productions and in dance and dance-drama of the two Indian epics. The influence is comprehensive, in the permeation of language and names of place and person, of adaptations and versions from Sanskrit literature in a language mixed with Sanskrit—the *Kavi* in Indonesia, and in religion the worship of Siva and Buddha. Sanskrit texts, particularly those used in *puja* of the Sun, *Siva* etc.—have been preserved in Bali and of these, improving over the pioneering work of Levi, Hooykass has recently produced detailed studies with improved and more copious reproductions in two volumes.[16] After a study and personal visit, I find that the study of Indian sculpture and the history and evolution of different forms of gods will be incomplete without the correlation of these forms in the sculptures in Greater India. So far as Sanskrit itself is concerned, the large number of the Cambodian inscriptions form a unique chapter of Sanskrit *Kavya* literature, for, as I have attempted to show in a detailed study of these from the purely literary point of view,[17] they vie with Sanskrit poetry in India and not infrequently the figures and fancies of the descendents of Kaundinya even excel in originality and beauty. The mastery of Sanskrit and the knowledge of its epics, poems and *Sastras,* particularly grammar and *Agama* are amazing. In all these areas, since independence, Sanskrit has been mainly used for creating the new vocabulary needed; Sanskrit has a definite place in the curricula of studies in Indonesian schools, and because of the "growing Sanskritism" of *Bahasa Indonesia,* some East German Sanskritists[18] have—in continuation of the work of Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*—started on a more intensive work on this subject.

Unlike Buddhism, Jainism, although it carried on as intensely its disputations with orthodox philosophy and religion, continued to live in this country. The *Anekanta*-relativism on one side, and *Ahimsa* and ethical perfection on the other, form the two chief contributions of Jainism. Jain contribution to literature has its distinction in the enrichment of the *Prakrits* but what was witnessed in Sanskrit is not insignificant. Outside of religious writings, the Jains identified their literary labours with the main current of Sanskrit literature in poetry, poetics, dramaturgy, lexicography, grammar, etc. In poetry, their Sanskrit works, e.g. the *Yasastilaka Campu* of Somadeva embodied a wealth of cultural data. Prakrit works like *Anjavijja* and *Kuvalayamata* are of similar usefulness. In grammar they had their own schools e.g. Jainendra, Hemchandra, Sakatayana, etc. Works like *Suryaprajnapti* and Mahavira's *Ganitasara-sangraha* show the importance of Jain contribution to mathematics. In *Ayurveda* they have their own textual tradition which later Jain writers on medicine refer to. In the hands of Jain writers, Sanskrit diction and syntax developed some minor peculiarities. In the South, Jainism made a remarkable contribution to the Dravidian languages and literature, and Jain caves and temples too have their importance in the history of Indian art and archæology.

The role of the elite in the building up, preservation and development of a culture cannot be denied in any part of the world. So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, it may be mentioned, as a criticism, that this has been too much so, with little participation of the common people. But a closer view would show that from the beginning the rhythm of the elect and the others, the highbrow and the common man, has been in continuous swing, although in different fields it showed itself in different forms and degrees. The dual participants in Upanisadic lore, the *Brahman* and *Ksatriya,* the very growth of *Itihasa* as a popular version of the *Vedas* was open to all and expounded in local language to the people. The social institutions which could throw up practical philosophers like *Vidura,* the episodes of wise men and teachers among the hunters and shop-keepers—*Dharma-vyadha* and *Vaisya-Tuladhara*—the forerunners of later Alvars and Nayanars and the *Bhaktas* from all classes, all of whom were venerated by the community including the brahmin and the king. These and the many other evidences could be pointed out all through the course of Indian history. A couple of studies of *Sudras* have no doubt appeared. But there is further scope to write a connected account of the common man who was certainly not left out in the Sanskrit sources,

NOTES

1. *JOR*. Madras XXV. pp. 1-8, "Ancient Relations between Indian and Foreign Astronomical Systems."
2. In a paper read before the K. S. R. Institute and published in *JOR*. Madras, Vol. XXXIII pp. 1-8.
3. *Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta University, 1947.
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5. S. Muzafer Ali, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1966.
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8. V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini*, Univ. of Lucknow, 1953.
   B. N. Puri, *India in the Time of Patanjali*, 2nd Ed., Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay.
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10. *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras III (1932) pp. 11-32; 94-102 IV. 1933 pp. 16-24, 50-84; revised and reproduced in the *Bulletin of the Sangeet Natak Akademi*, New Delhi. No. 5, December 1956, pp. 19-28, No. 6 May 1957 pp. 23-30. No. 17 July 1960 pp. 1-24; No. 18 April 1961 pp. 1-18.
11. *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, XXVIII 1957. pp. 100-06.
12. *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, London, 1960.
13. P. C. Bagchi, *India and China* (Bombay 2nd Edn. 1950, p. 68): "In no period of the history of China did so many Chinese monks and official missions come to India as in the 7th Century. There was fervent desire on the part of Chinese Buddhists to go to India and study Buddhism and the Buddhist texts . . . ."
14. See P. C. Bagchi, *Ibid*, especially pp. 120 ff. and 203 ff. (2nd Edn. Bombay 1950) B. Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Bud. Tripitaka* describes 1467 Sanskrit texts.
15. *Indian Influences in the Philippines*, University of Philippines, 1964.
16. *Agamatirtha* and *Suryasevana*, Amsterdam, 1964,1966.
17. In a paper presented to the Delhi Session of the International Congress of Orientalists.
18. Harry Spitzbardt, "Sanskrit Loan Words in the Bahasa Indonesia", *JOR*. Madras, vol. XXXVI.

C. E. RAMACHANDRAN

Sangam Literature as a Source

ACADEMIES of Tamil poets, according to tradition were located in the capitals of the Early Pandyas. A large number of poetical works were presented to these institutions and declared to be the accredited works of the academies. The term Sangam was applied to these academies, and the accredited works came to be styled as Sangam classics or Sangam literature. This is the earliest known Tamil literature.

The traditional account of the Tamil Sangams is first seen in poet Nakkirar's commentary on the *Irayanar Ahapporul,* a grammatical work on erotics. Later commentators such as Naccinarkkiniyar, Perasiriyar and Adiyarkkunallar have taken Nakkirar's accounts for granted.[1] However, modern scholars such as P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar and K. N. Sivaraja Pillai doubt the very existence of the Sangams, remarking that "the idea of an organised academy is a very modern one",[2] and that "the very idea of a literary academy could not have been anything else than foreign" to the times.[3] Nevertheless, the references of Appar[4] and Gnanasambandar[5] in the Thevaram, and that of Tirumangai Alvar[6] in the Periyatirumoli and of Andal[7] in the Tirruppavai to the Sangam in the technical sense of an academy of poets, and to a class of Tamil called Sangattamil, proves beyond doubt the existence of the Tamil Sangams. Epigraphy also confirms the evidence of the Saiva and Vaishnava hymnists[8], when it refers to the institution of the Sangam at Madura by the Early Pandyas.

Age of the Sangam

There has been, however, a great deal of controversy over the age of the Sangam. The commentary on *Irayanar Ahapporul* for the three Sangams is, according to some, about 10,000 years old, and it seems certainly incredible, specially as Srinivasa Iyengar considers that these earliest Tamil odes represent a comparatively late stage of literary development.[9] In the same work in another place he remarks: "much poetry must have been composed before the rigid conventions that characterise the early poems that are now extant could have been evolved." For example, there is the reference in the Purananuru (poem 2) to the wearing of the Thumbai flower while fighting, to the five-fold classification of the country, to the five-fold aspect of love and to the use of grammatical terms such as Uyartinai[10] and Nul[11]; all this is seen in the Aham works. In the sense of a technical treatise, there is thus sufficient evidence to prove the existence of grammatical works before the production of the extant Sangam works. Taking into consideration all these and many other aspects, Srinivasa Iyengar is inclined to fix 500 B.C. and 500 A.D. as the extreme limits of the Sangam Age.[12]

But the discovery of short Brahmi inscriptions in Tamil and the assignment of the inscriptions to the *2nd* or the *3rd* century B.C. has led to the view that Tamil could not have been a well developed language by about 500 B.C. According to Nilakanta Shastri[13], had Tamil been such a well developed language, its alphabet, instead of the Brahmi, would have been used in these inscriptions. However, his conclusions are based only on brief inscriptions, which give the names of persons who made the cavern fit for habitation, or, of the monks who occupied them thereafter. Some of these caverns are called Samanar Kudagu or caves of the Jains and which were not of the Tamils but of the other 'foreigners'. Therefore, since these inscriptions, which are probably those of the Jains and Buddhists who came from North India, naturally used the Brahmi script. In view of this, it cannot be said with certainty that Tamil was in its formative stage in the *3rd* Century B.C.

Megasthenes's reference to the Pandya country and the reference to the three Tamil kingdoms in the Asokan Edicts would lend support to take 500 B.C. as the starting point of the Sangam Age. The absence of any reference in the Sangam literature to the Pallavas, who became prominent at the close of the sixth century A.D., and Appar's reference to the Sangam in the middle of the *7th* century A.D., positively places the Sangam to a period well before the *6th* century A.D. So, 500 A.D. may be taken as the closing date of the Sangam. The early beginnings suggested here are corroborated by the fact that the period of the Third Sangam may roughly belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era, on the basis of the synchronism of Senguttuvan Chera and Gajabahu I of Ceylon. Further, the discovery of Roman coins of the reign of Augustus, the excavations at Arikamedu, and the descriptions of foreign trade in the Sangam classics, proves beyond doubt that the extant Sangam works may be assigned to the first three centuries of the Christian Era.

Sangam Literature

Sangam literature comprises the Pattuppattu or the Ten Idylls and the Ettuttogai or the Eight Anthologies. These two classes of work are together called as the Merkanakku works or major works. In contrast to this there is a collection known as Padinenkilkanakku or eighteen minor works. Added to these there are the twin epics, the Silappadikaram and the Manimekalai. Of all these, the Ten Idylls and the Eight Anthologies are considered by the commentators to be the authentic Sangam works. It is only some of the modern scholars such as Kanakasabhi Pillay who consider the other remaining works as belonging to the age of the Sangam.

In contrast to the two sections of scholars referred to above, there is yet another section of scholars who hold the view that the eighteen minor works and the twin epics belong to a period closely following that of the works of the Third Sangam, i.e. the Ten Idylls and the Eight Anthologies. For instance, M. Varadarajan holds the view that these are definitely later, but not much later in time than the professed Sangam works.[14] The same view has been expressed by K. K. Pillay.[15] According to the latter, the lack of reference to the Pallavas in the epics and the intrusion of the Kalabhras into the Tamil country about the *5th* century A.D. would place the epics before the *5th* century A.D.[16]

At any rate, the following are brief details of Sangam literature and its value for us:

(1) *Pattuppattu* (*Ten Idylls*)

(i) Tirumurugarruppadai
(ii) Porunararruppadai
(iii) Sirupanarruppadai
(iv) Perumbanarruppadai
(v) Mullaippattu
(vi) Maduraikkanchi
(vii) Nedunalvadai
(viii) Kurinjippattu
(ix) Pattinappalai
(x) Malaipadukadam.

The value of these long poems lie in the material they supply us for the reconstruction of the age. For instance, (i) gives us social history, (ii) celebrates the heroic deeds of the famous Chola King Karikala, giving us a description of the Chola country, (iii) records that the Chera King Kuttuvan imprinted the emblem of the bow on the Himalayas, (iv) contains a description of the city of Kanchi, (v) contains some of the superstitions of the early Tamils, (vi) deals with the Pandyan country, (vii) describes the camp of the Pandya, Nedumeeliyan, (viii) throws light on marriage customs, and maritime trade of the Chola country figures prominently in (ix), while in (x) there are references to musical instruments and dance.

(2) *Ettutogai (Eight Anthologies)*

(i) Narrinai
(ii) Kuruntogai

(iii) Ainkurunuru
(iv) Padirruppattu
(v) Paripadal
(vi) Kalittogai
(vii) Ahananuru
(viii) Purananuru.

Of these Narrinai, Kuruntogai, Ainkurunuru, Kalittogai and Ahananuru deal with love and belong to Aham classification in Tamil literature. The rest are Puram works. As in the case of the Ten Idylls, the Aham works in this collection gives us an idea of the society and the Puram works enable us to understand the polity of the age. The Purananuru and the Padirruppattu are especially valuable for the political history of the age.

(3) *Padinenkilkanakku (Eighteen Minor works)*

(i) Tirukkural
(ii) Naladiyar
(iii) Kalavalinarpadu
(iv) Kainilai
(v) Iniyavinarpadu
(vi) Innanarpadu
(vii) Nanmanikkadikai
(viii) Karnarpadu
(ix) Aintinaiaimbadu
(x) Tinaimoliaimbadu
(xi) Aintinaielupadu
(xii) Tinaimolinurraimbadu
(xiii) Tirikadukam
(xiv) Eladi
(xv) Acarakovai
(xvi) Palamolinanuru
(xvii) Sirupancamulam
(xviii) Mudumolikkanci.

This collection also comprises Aham and Puram works. In addition to these, we have didactic works such as the Tirukkural and the Naladiyar.

(4) *The Twin Epics:*

The Silappadikaram and the Manimekalai are the two ancient epics of the Tamils. These two epics enlighten us greatly on the social conditions of the early Tamils. Certain facts relating to political conditions are also found in the epics, such as the existence of institutions called Enperayam and Aimperumkulu. The two epics in a way depict the influence of the 'Aryans' of the North on the culture of the Tamils.

Conclusion

Sangam literature may thus be taken as a very exhaustive source of history, more than the works of any subsequent age in the history of Tamil literature. But it is specially the smaller poems which furnish a fundamental substratum of history, such as the Purananuru and Ahananuru. It, of course, does not mean that the longer poems have little value for historical purposes.[17]

The entire body of Tamil Sangam literature falls within the purview of one or the other of the two divisions, Aham and Puram. However, Aham works dominate the range of literature. But it is the Puram literature which deals mainly with government, war, and other social institutions whereas the Aham literature deals mainly with romance and love, etc. Nevertheless, the most singular example of the employment of historical data may be seen in Aham literature, in the Ahananuru itself. It is full of references to historical events and personages. The bards had introduced historical material into the stanzas in an indirect way. For example, if the woes of a person were to be described, reference was made to the woes of a defeated army and this naturally involves mention of the battle, particularly about the victor and the vanquished. Likewise, by convention, a beautiful lady is likened to a prosperous city and here the poet avails himself of the opportunity to mention the name of the city, its location and the particular chief who ruled over it. Similarly, while referring to the lands traversed by the hero in quest of wealth, the poet mentions the border areas of Tamilagam and furnishes the names of the rulers of those areas and other interesting particulars about them. Thus, much material concerning the political, social and religious conditions may be found even in Aham literature[18]. In general, therefore, we have to depend a great deal on Sangam literature for a reconstruction of early Tamil life and history.[19]

NOTES

1. Nacchinarkkiniyar—*Commentary on the Tolkappiyam, Poruladikaram—Seyyuliya—Sutras,* 35 and 51.
   Perasiriyar—*Commentary on the Sutra 649 of the Tolkappiyam* (*Pattum Togaiyum*) *Seyyuliyal* 80.
   Adiyarkkunallar—*Commentary on the patigam prefixed to the Silappadikaram.*
2. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar—*History of the Tamils,* p. 233.
3. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai—*Chronology of the Early Tamils,* p. 18.
4. Tirupptur Tiruththandhakam, 3.
5. Tiruttevar Thevaram, 11.
6. 4th ten—10th stanza.
7. Stanza—30.
8. S.I.I., Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 454: *Larger Sinnamanur plates of Rajasimha*—10th stanza.
9. Srinivas Iyengar, *op.cit.* p. 150.
10. Kuruntogai—224.
11. Nedunalvadai 1.76: Maduraikkanchi 1.664: Sirupanarruppadai 1.230.

12. *History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. II, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 293.
13. *Ibid. Comprehensive History of India,* Vol. II, p. 501.
14. *Kalaikkalanjiyam,* Vol. II, p. 482.
15. *Tamil culture*—Vol. VI, No. 2; p. 118.
16. *Ibid.* Vol. V, No. 2; p. 181.
17. M. Arokiasamy, *Classical Age of the Tamils,* p. 18.
18. Apart from the poems themselves we have short notes at the end of the poems usually termed as colophons, giving the name of the author of the piece, the occasion of its composition and other details. There are also short stanzas appended to some of the works and they are called the patigams. The patigams amplify or augment the information furnished by the poems. It is only from such notes rather than from the texts of the poems themselves that we can gather the names of the many kings and chieftains and of the poets and poetesses, and such information is valuable for sketching the history of the period. While evaluating the usefulness of the colophons and patigams, K. A. Nilakanta Shastri (*History of South India,* p. 111), remarks that, "these notes, probably the work of the editors, must be taken generally to represent a correct tradition".
19. Some examples of this reconstruction of the conditions of the Tamil country during the Sangam Age may be given briefly, as follows:

(A) *Political :*

Sangam works name the rulers of the three Tamil Kingdoms, the names of Karikala, Nedumseliyan and Senguttuvan figure prominently. We also come across the names of seven liberal patrons and among them the chieftain Pari had earned for himself such a reputation for liberality that one of the *Saiva* saints, Sundarar refers to him in the *7th* or *8th* century A.D. At least some of the names of the rulers and chieftains found in the Sangam works are to be seen in the epigraphs of the Later Pandyas, the Imperial Cholas and in the literature of subsequent ages.

(B) *Economics :*

In one of the poems of the Ahananuru, there is reference to the Yavanas arriving at the Chera port of Musiri and exchanging gold for pepper. This information in the work has been confirmed by the discovery of Roman gold and silver coins in the Tamil country.

(C) *Religion :*

We learn from the Sangam classics that Muruga was the popular God of the Tamils of the age. There is also reference to the worship of upright stones set up in public places.*

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*Editor's note: It was pointed during the discussions that a mention might have been made to the fact that the attitude towards Nature was quite different in this literature than what was found in Sanskrit.

A. N. UPADHYE

Literary Material on Jainism

INDIAN civilization is the sum-total of different religious concepts and cults to which various groups of men have been clinging for more than four thousand years. All these cultural traits, in the comprehensive sense of the term, which have been persistently—in spite of the vicissitudes—inspiring the people, are found largely embedded in the distant past. For example, at Mohenjodaro and Harappa there was present, most probably, puja of idols, the sanctity attached to animals, trees and water as well as to symbolic figures, iconic representation of what appears to be the fore-runner of Siva, etc. These and the other cultural traits go back prior to the sacrificial cult practised by a small section of the people which is mentioned in the Vedic literature. There is enough evidence slowly piling up to indicate that the cults mentioned above were current in the wider sectors of society.

It is difficult to get a full picture of these religious ideas in the different parts of India, in the absence of indigenous literary evidence, earlier than the Vedic hymns. The religio-cultural concepts, noted above, which seem to have gone underground for a time in a greater part of the North, have not only lingered in the East and the South of India, but have also developed in their own way during the subsequent centuries when pressure of the new cults dwindled away gradually. The cult of asceticism which is conspicuous by its absence in the Vedic hymns seems to have had a good history and growth in Eastern India, where not only the Upanisadic thoughts grew but there flourished also the great *Sramanic* or ascetic teachers like Parsva, Mahavira, Gosala, Purana Kasyapa, Sanjaya Belatthiputta and the Buddha; all of whom were more interested in man and his spirit rather than in nature and its vagaries.

While studying the antecedents of Mahavira's creed, his predecessor, Vrisabha resembles very closely Siva, also described as Pasupati. Asceticism, pessimistic attitude, stress on rebirth, holiness of the *caitya* tree and *stupa*, etc., link themselves with the pre-Aryan cults. Though the two faiths, Jainism and Buddhism, have grown on the Indian soil, their subsequent histories have been different. Jainism stuck to its homeland and maintained its creed and cult more or less within the frame-work of its basic doctrines; but Buddhism vigorously spread to the Eastern countries and Ceylon, and admitted even fresh interpretations to suit the local conditions.

Jainism has, therefore, a special importance in India. Jaina teachers travelled from one part of the country to the other. They preserved their scriptures in the Prakrit dialect (*Ardhamagadhi*), just as the Buddhist canon was in Pali, both languages being understood by the common people; but when the occasion required they adopted Sanskrit, the language of learning. They also used the local languages in different parts of the country, wherever they went. The languages like Kannada and Tamil were effectively used by them; they enriched and gave to them a literary dignity. The currency of this material cuts across linguistic barriers and regional boundaries and, hence, it is really of all-India importance. The following are some aspects of the important literary material connected with Jainism:

(i) The *Ardhamagadhi* canon and its accessories like the *Niryukti, Curni, Bhasya,* etc. It is huge in its bulk, containing both the old and new material. But it also affords interesting insight into Jainism as a monastic creed and offers enough material for reconstructing the life and culture of the people from the earliest times to the *5th* or *6th* century A.D.

(ii) The pro-canonical texts like the *Satkhandagama,* the works of Kundakunda and other early teachers, most of whom came from the South. The contents of these cover details of the *karma* philosophy, discourses on the *atman,* monastic prescriptions, etc.

(iii) The *Tattvarthasutra* and the commentaries on it, especially those by eminent logicians like Akalanka, Vidyananda, etc., which indicate well the growth of contemporary Jain philosophical thought, and doctrines in Sanskrit.

(iv) Eminent authors like Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Haribhadra, etc., have composed some treatises on topical subjects in Sanskrit. Haribhadra's contributions on *yoga* strike a new note in Jainism.

(v) The elaborate work on Jaina Puranic lore and mythology by Jinasena in the South and Hemacandra and others in the West.

(vi) Haribhadra's satire and Siddharisi's allegory are epoch-making developments in Indian literature. The narrative literature, beginning with the *Vasudeva-himdi* in Prakrit, constitutes a rich treasure of legends, of the folk-lore and of the cycles of tales. The stories narrated by them and the illustrations given by them reflect a wide perspective, both of the urban-rural and the poor and rich.

(v) The elaborate work on Jaina *Puranic* lore and mythology by Jinasena in the technical and secular branches of knowledge, such as in grammar, lexicography, poetics, astronomy, medicine, politics, coinage and mathematics.

(viii) Jaina authors have likewise enriched the Tamil and specially the Kannada literatures. Some of their compositions are inspired by the classical models in Sanskrit and can be creditably compared with the works of Kalidasa and Bhatta Narayana, etc.

(ix) A large number of narrative poems in *Apabhramsa* composed by Jaina authors beginning from the 8*th*-9*th* centuries to the 16*th*-17*th* centuries A.D. possess some rich linguistic material which sheds abundant light on the earlier phases of the modern Indo-Aryan languages like Braja, Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi, etc.

(x) The Jaina *Sastra Bhandaras*—in modern terms libraries—in places like Jaisalmer, Pattan, Moodbidri, etc., are national treasures of great antiquity and importance. Their set-up was intellectually cosmopolitan. A few Buddhist Sanskrit works, rare in India in their originals, were only preserved in some of them.

The following are brief details of some of the typical Jaina works noted above:

A. The *Rayapaseniyasutta* gives details about iconography, dances and plays. The *Bhagavati* is encyclopædic in its contents. The studies carried on by Otto Stein and others indicate the type of material which is available in the canon.

B. Among the *Curni* Texts, the *Nisitha* is studied by Pt. Malavania and the information available from it is strikingly new.

C. The *Angavijja* is looked upon as a treasure for the cultural history of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, as is estimated by Motichandra and the other scholars.

D. The Jaina narrative texts in Prakrit and Sanskrit reflect a good bit of the contemporary social and political institutions, customs and beliefs. The *Samaraiccakaha* of Haribhadra (c. 750 A.D.), the *Kuvalayamala* of Uddyotana (779 A.D.) and Siddharisi's *Upamitibhavaprapanca Katha* (905 A.D.) contain quite a lot of relevant material for understanding contemporary society in Gujarat and Rajasthan. The material from some of them has already been used by our historians in reconstructing the history of those periods to which these works belong.

E. The *Yasastilaka-Campu* of Somadeva who lived in Karnatak in the middle of the 10*th* century A.D. The rich cultural data from it has been studied by K. K. Handiqui in his *Yasastilaka* and Indian Culture.[1]

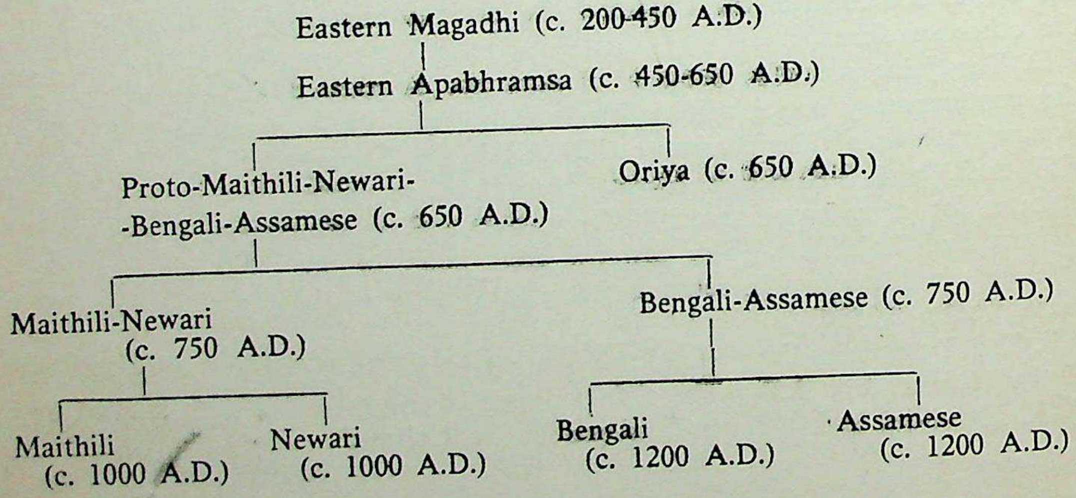
NOTES

1. During the discussions, two points were made:
   (i) There was a great resemblence between the post-*Apabhramsa* literature of Gujarat and Maharashtra, and those of Eastern India.
   (ii) Certain religious concepts mentioned in the paper are also referred to in some of the Mathura inscriptions.

NILRATAN SEN

Eastern (NIA) Vernaculars as a Source

LINGUISTICALLY the four major Eastern NIA vernaculars, viz. Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Maithili are the direct descendents of the Eastern Magadhi or Eastern Apabhramsa. From the available earliest Eastern vernacular manuscript, viz. *Caryagitikos*[1] it appears that Maithili, Bengali and Assamese had the same script at that time, and the scripts of Oriya and Newari might have been separated a little earlier. It seems that the process of this separation had not been completed by that time. It took about a thousand years to get a separate entity for each of them. This process may be shown in the following chart[2]:


Eastern Magadhi (c. 200-450 A.D.)
Eastern Apabhramsa (c. 450-650 A.D.)
Proto-Maithili-Newari-
-Bengali-Assamese (c. 650 A.D.)
Oriya (c. 650 A.D.)
Maithili-Newari
(c. 750 A.D.)
Bengali-Assamese (c. 750 A.D.)
Maithili
(c. 1000 A.D.)
Newari
(c. 1000 A.D.)
Bengali
(c. 1200 A.D.)
Assamese
(c. 1200 A.D.)

Newari having been bifurcated from Maithili, could not flourish properly. It is now used mainly for scriptural writings in Nepal. Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Maithili have been steadily developing since the fourteenth century onwards.

Bengali Literature

The earliest manuscript available so far in the Eastern vernaculars is known as *Caryagitikos* or *Caryacayaviniscaya.* In 1907, Haraprasad Sastri discovered a palm-leaf manuscript from the Nepal Darbar Library, and published in Bengali with three other manuscripts under the title, *Hajar Bacharer Purana Bangala Bhasay Bauddha Gan o Doha* (Buddhist songs and dohas written in Bengali language of thousand years old). Subsequently, eminent linguists like S. K. Chatterji, Shahidullah and others came to the conclusion that only the first book, mentioned above, is written in Bengali, and the language of the remaining three is Eastern Apabhramsa. According to Chatterji the *Carya* songs collected in this anthology were composed in a period between the 10*th* to the 12*th* century. Shahidullah extended the earlier limit to 8*th* century A.D. Originally fifty Buddhist *Carya* songs were compiled in this book, with Sanskrit commentaries. (A few folios being missing, now forty-six full and one fragmented song have come to our precious possession). This original book is preserved in the National Archives Library of Nepal. (An annotated and Roman transliterated English facsimile edition of it is now being published from this Institute.) After the publication of the Bengali edition by Haraprasad Sastri, claims have been voiced from other Eastern vernaculars also, including Hindi, and each one of them is trying to substantiate its claims with linguistic and other evidences.

If it is accepted that the songs compiled in this anthology were composed between the 10*th* to the 12*th* centuries, then it should also be admitted that we have nothing to provide as literary specimens for the next two to three centuries. This is true in the case of the other Eastern vernaculars also. From the fourteenth century onwards regular literary activities may be traced through various manuscripts. It has to be presumed that the preceding period covering the two-three centuries was actually not a barren period. The Eastern region witnessed a tremendous political upheaval during this period, which might be one of the main reasons for the non-existence of the manuscripts. It should be noted that the only available Eastern vernacular manuscript considered to be written in this period has been discovered from Nepal. It is quite likely that this is because the Buddhists tried to save their valuable scriptures and manuscripts by migrating to a safer place and, hence, this *Carya* book was also carried to Nepal and saved. Nevertheless, hundreds of such manuscripts are lying unnoticed in various monastaries, and quite a large number of such manuscripts collected by the Archives of Nepal have yet to be catalogued. In Bengali, as well as in Assamese and Oriya, only a few fragmentary rhymes, *brata-slokas,* aphorisms, and other ritual songs are often quoted as specimens of the literary activities of this early period. A detailed scrutiny of the manuscripts lying in the various monastaries of Nepal might yield some more concrete specimens of the early vernacular writings of this period.

In Medieval Bengali (1300-1800 A.D.) broadly four literary trends may be traced, and the thousands of manuscripts which are available probably belong to this period. Most of them are preserved in the Manuscripts Libraries of Calcutta University, Visvabharati (Santiniketan), Bangiya Sahitya Parisad (Calcutta), Asiatic Society Library (Calcutta) and in the India Library of London. In the Dacca University Library and the Barendra Research Library (Rajshahi, East Pakistan) quite a large number of these manuscripts are also preserved. The four broad trends of the literature of this period may be classified as (a) translations from Sanskrit, viz, of the *Ramayana, Mahabharata,* the *Bhagavatas* and other *Puranas,* (b) the narrative verses describing the stories of local cities, known as *mangala kavyas,* (c) the Vaisnava songs and Chaitanya biographies, and (d) the indigenous secular love-stories. All these writings are in verse-form, and considerably rich in theme, language and diction; the very high standard of Vaisnava songs is comparable to the best lyrics of the world. A new sonorous melody was devised for this style of songs, commonly known as Brajabuli song.

The famous Maithili poet Vidyapati had devised a new language and metre for these songs, and hundreds of Bengali Vaisnava poets have since followed him. It is now considered to be one of the very rich branches of Bengali, Assamese and Maithili literature. The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* themes were presented by the Medieval poets, among whom Krittivasa and Kasiramadasa deserve special mention. In fact, they added new flesh and blood to the original skeletons of the Sanskrit stories. Another poet known as Adbhutacarya presented a new version of the *Ramayana* story, probably based on a popular Sanskrit book bearing the same title. In the manuscripts of *Krittivasi-Ramayana* the interpolation of these Adbhuta-stories is a very common phenomenon. But in the Bengali versions of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* most of the important characters have lost their original distinction, and have changed to somewhat emotional and "soft-minded" regional personalities. Similar is the case with some of the other traditions. For instance, the character of Krishna as has been depicted in the *Srikrishnavijay* of Maladhar Basu, or in the *Srikrishnakirttan* of Badu Chandidasa, is totally different from the Krishna of *Bhagavata Purana.* It might be interesting to compare these Classical and *Puranic* themes, particularly of the *Ramayana, Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavata,* as depicted in the various regional vernacular forms.

The various *mangala kavya* may be traced at the very beginning of the Eastern vernaculars. In Bengali and Assamese, the popular verse-stories were written about the local non-Aryan deities like, *Manasa* (serpent-goddess), *Chandi* (goddess of the non-Aryan rulers), *Siva* (another non-Aryan god, who ultimately merged with the Aryan god *Rudra Mahesvara*), *Kali* (a Tantrik goddess who over-powered the Aryan god, *Mahesvara*) and many other minor deities. These stories should be considered as the store houses of non-Aryan social and religious faiths and customs, and the process of its infusion with the Aryan civilization may be traced through a proper study of these books. Some of the talented poets of this branch are Kavikankan Mukundaram Chakravartty (*Chandimangal*), Vijay Gupta (*Manasamangal*) and Bharatchandra Ray Gunakar (*Anandamangal*). Mukundaram and Vijay Gupta both excelled in the depiction of characters and in the presentation of stories. Bharatchandra, in addition to literary qualities, shows the rare acumen of a craftsman, comparable to the Brajbuli poet, Vidyapati.

In the 'Old' and 'Early Medieval' periods most of the literary activities were centered round the religious faiths. Later, a new trend of secular love-lyrics and verse-narratives developed in Bengali literature. These narrative-songs or *gitikas* were very popular among the rural folk, and some of these stories were based on the real happenings in their lives. Like the various folk-rhymes, these love-lyrics also bear no mention of the composer's name. Perhaps these were written rather collectively and not by any individual poet. But the vivid, simple and emotional descriptions of these stories bears testimony of the high poetic talents of these rural artists. These love-stories give us a picture of the social and human values in vogue in the rural life of Bengal.

During the late MB period various patterns of folk-literature flourished in both urban and village societies in the forms of folk-cultural performances known as *jatra, kavigan, ramayanagan, alkap, pala-kirttan, dhop, akhdai,* etc. The talented, unsophisticated poets used to improvise these songs, while presenting them to the audience in *pala* forms. In *kavigan* two opponent poets known as *kavials* used to give reply to the problems raised by each other, in verse-dialogue forms. This required a ready-wit, a strong sense of humour, a thorough knowledge of the Classical and *Puranic* literature, and a good command on rhetoric and metre. It is only very recently that our scholars are taking some interest in this branch of literature which could, by a thorough systematic study, reveal evidences of a rural society which represents an admixture of the Aryan and non-Aryan cultural elements.

It should be borne in mind that besides this rich tradition of vernacular writings, various other books were written in Sanskrit. In fact, in the Classical Sanskrit writings the contribution of the Eastern scholars is quite commendable. The court-poets of Raja Laksmana Sena, viz. Jaydeva, Pavana, Dhoyi and others, had introduced a very rich tradition of Sanskrit love-poems. Jaydeva's Gitagovinda songs are still very popular throughout the entire sub-continent of India. The Vaisnava theologists of Vrindavana, known as *sat gosvamins* made a very rich contribution in the *Gaudiya Vaisnava Darsan*, and all their books were written in Sanskrit. The seventeenth century famous rhetorician Viswanatha Kaviraj wrote an outstanding book on Sanskrit poetics entitled, *Sahityadarpana* in Sanskrit. The noteworthy contribution of the Bengali *smarta pundits* and *naiyayikas* like Raghunandan, Srinatha Srikara and Brihaspati, the Buddhist philosophers like Silabhadra, Santideva, and Dipankar

Srijnana made significant contributions to Sanskrit philosophical learning. Two very important anthologies of Sanskrit poetry entitled, *Saduktikarnamrita,* and *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* also bear the mark of poetic talents, of the then Eastern litterateurs.

Assamese Literature

Historians have not yet reached a convincing solution regarding the origin of the name of Assam. It was originally known as Kamarupa, and in all probability, during the reign of Ahom kings the new name, Aham or Assam got popularity. In the phonetic pronunciation of this language all the three sibilants, *sha, s'a,* and *sa* have changed to the voiced-gutteral *ha.* So, the word Assam is pronounced as Aham. Like Bengal, Assam also has been referred to in the various ancient scriptures. In the *Mahabharata* story it is narrated that the *Panca Pandavas* reached Manipur crossing over this *janapada* (locality) of Kamarupa. From the very ancient times, a synthetic mixed culture of the east and the west developed in this region. There are indications that the Dravidians also came and settled in this country. The religious currents of Brahminism, Tantricism, Buddhism, Jainism, Vaisnavism and Saivaism enriched the culture of this area. These different shades of the various religious faiths are, therefore, reflected in Assamese literature.

Like the other Eastern NIA vernacular historians, the ones of Assamese literature, also claim that the *Caryagitikos* manuscript is the earliest book in their language. It seems that, excepting Bengali, their claim on this book is stronger than the claim of any other vernacular. But the period during which these songs were composed, Assamese was not fully bifurcated from Bengali. Thus, the *Carya*-songs were written during a period when there was a common language which should be known as Proto-Bengali-Assamese.

Regular literary activities in Assamese may be traced from the thirteenth century onwards. The earliest books written during this period are free translations of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata.* A few *Puranic* episodes were also reproduced in verse forms. The *Ramayana,* written by Madhava Kandali, is the most popular book of this period. Like the Bengali *Krittivasi-Ramayana,* Kandali's book is also a local product both in thematic design and characterisation, since a good number of non-Aryan words have been used in it. The metrical pattern is similar to that of the contemporary Bengali verses using a compact style of moric metre, quite different from *matravritta* the earlier Eastern Apabhramsa or Proto-Bengali-Assamese verses.

In the next phase of this Medieval period, four important trends of Assamese literature may be traced. As in Bengali, in Assamese also, a trend of *Mangala kavyas,* mainly with *manasa*-theme, had developed. Of course, in comparison to Bengali, this branch is rather feeble in Assamese. The most talented poet of this branch Narayanadeva, the composer of *Padmapurana* (*Manasamangala*), has been enlisted by both the Assamese and Bengali literary historians as their own poet. With slight variations, the same *Padmapurana* has been published both in Assam and in Bengal. In fact, excepting a few words it is composed in the same language. The basic difference is rather phonetic, and not morphological.

The most important branch of Assamese Medieval literature is the Vaisnava songs, *askiya nats,* and narratives. Shankaradeva (1449-1569?) an elderly contemporary of Chaitanyadeva started the Vaisnava movement in Assam. He organised this movement both by preaching and by writing a huge number of theological treatises, songs, dramas, and the narrative *Bhagavata* stories. Shankara and his disciples adopted the Brajabuli style of Vidyapati both in their poetic and dramatic compositions. This Vaisnava age of Assamese literature continued upto the end of the seventeenth century, and it may be considered as the Golden Age of Medieval Assamese literature. Today, the *satras* and *namgharas,* the citadels of Vaisnava culture, are playing the key roles in the social and religious life of Assam. Sankara, the worshipper of Krishna, as he is depicted in the *Gita* and the *Bhagavata,* advised his disciples to cultivate *dasya-bhava;* whereas Chaitanyadeva worshipped his God as the lover, in the manifestation of *madhuralila.* Shankara and his followers like Madhavdeva, Damodardeva, etc. brought a new awakening in the society introducing a new way of life and thinking. During the previous few centuries the entire Kamarupa had been in the grip of perverted tantric practices. The new Vaisnava movement of Shankara marked the end of that 'dark age' of corrupted practices. It is interesting to note that almost in the same period the two most outstanding Vaisnava prophets appeared in the two neighbouring states, and acted in the key roles of social and religious liberators. Both of them introduced the two most disciplined, liberal, as well as the most democratic type of religious movements to mark the end of the 'dark ages' of Bengal and Assam. But the real significance of the appearance of these two Vaisnava leaders has not yet been properly studied in the socio-cultural contexts.

Assamese literature has another very significant trend known as *buranji,* chronicles of the different royal families, mainly written under royal patronages. In these, the ancient prose style has been nicely preserved and the standard syntax-form of Assamese language was reached. Basically, that form is little different to the Bengali prose which is available in the early seventeenth century letters and documents. Therefore, it seems that much before the beginning of the modern period, both in Bengal and Assam, a common prose style had developed. But in Bengali, unfortunately, nothing has been retained excepting a few specimens of letters and legal documents.

Assam has also a rich heritage of the various *mantras,* enchantments and similar other magical practices. Therefore, quite a good number of *mantra-puthis* comprising the verified *slokas* are available. Similar mystic tantric *slokas* are also easily available, as well as the different types of aphorisms, *bacanas* (known as *daker bacan, ksanar bacan,* etc.), nursery and other social rhymes (known as, *nicukani git, bia nam, bihu nam,* etc.) which are very popular among the rural folk. For example, *Bihu,* national festival of the Assamese people, is based on amorous dances and songs which seem to originate from the non-Aryan agrarian society of the Ahom race. Thus, the various folk-songs which are based on different social customs and are mostly of romantic and sensual character, are available in the ancient Assamese literature.

Hindu civilization and culture has been transmitted a great deal through the transcripted and translated copies of its Epics and *Puranas.* Assam also has a tradition of preserving these ancient maunscripts. There are three types of *puthis,* known as *sancipat* (leaves made of the bark of *sanci* tree), *tulapat* (leaves made from cotton) and *talapat* (palm-leaf). H. C. Goswami has published a 'Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts (1930)', where he has collected information on most of the important manuscripts available so far. But thousands of many other types of manuscripts viz. *buranjis, vamsavalis* and religious scriptures remain hidden within the various large collections.

It is needless to mention that like the others, Assamese scholars have also made a thorough study of the Classical Sanskrit literature. Many of them have initiated the writing of books in Sanskrit on various subjects, such as the *Tantrasastra, Gita, Bhagavata Purana, Brahmmavaivartaa Purana, Gitagovinda,* the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata,* etc. Different editions of these books are available in Assam, in transcripted manuscript forms.

Oriya Literature

The glimmerings of the dawn of Oriya literature may be traced in the prose works known as *madlapanji* (a chronicle of the temple of *Jagannatha*), the Saivaite book entitled *Rudrasudhanidhi* written by Adabhuta Narayana Swami, and the poetical works known as *Kolli* and *Cautisa* poems composed by Markanda Dasa, Baccana Dasa and others. It is presumed that these literary activities were started in the early fourteenth century. The most outstanding book was written in this period, following those stray compositions by the famous Sudra poet Sarala Dasa. It is a free translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata.* Sarala, it is believed, was a half-literate poet and had no knowledge of Sanskrit. He composed this monumental book for the satisfaction of his mother, and based it on the story he learnt from the rural *pathakas,* reciters of the scriptures. Sarala, according to his convenience, changed the original story in many places; and a deep love and sympathy for the low caste, to which he himself belonged to, has been expressed in the presentation of these stories. The book earned immense popularity within a short period, and is considered to be the national epic of Orissa. The two epics which are read in every household of Orissa, are the *Sarala Mahabharata* and the *Dandi Ramayana* of

Balarama Dasa. In this respect, Sarala and Balarama may be compared with the Bengali poets Krittivasa and Kasiram Dasa.

The later post-Sarala poetry marked a new trend of Vaisnavism. The Visnu cult had been gaining ground slowly for the last two centuries. It is said that Ramanuja visited Puri during the last quarter of twelfth century. By that time Jagannatha had already been turned into the national God of Orissa in whom the great trinity Buddha, Krishna and Rama have been combined. Chaitanyadeva settled down in Puri in the early sixteenth century and a group of religious reformers started preaching a new Vaisanavism, which in spirit had close affinity with the Buddhist ideals. The five very important poet-preachers among them, who happened to be the close associates of Chaitanyadeva, are known as *panchasakha* (five comrades). They are Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Ananta Dasa, Yasovanta Dasa and Acyuta Dasa. Among these five comrades again, Balarama and Jagannatha are considered as national poets of the same stature as that of Sarala. Balarama's *Ramayana* and Jagannatha's *Bhagavata* are read and sung in every household of Orissa; they are also immensely popular in the border areas of Bengal. Balarama composed his book in the traditional *dandivritta* (fourteen moric-syllabary) metre, while Jagannatha introduced a new nine moric metre known as, *bhagavata* metre. This *bhagavata* metre is also very popular in Oriya poetry. It is interesting to note that most of the Oriya metrical patterns have musical characteristics of their own.

The next phase of Oriya literature may be called the age of ornate poetry. Court poets usually preferred to compose ornamental poetry, and Vidyapati and Bharatchandra Ray are the best examples of it. From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries onwards until the beginning of the British period all the best Oriya poets had practised the writing of ornamental poetry, being attached to the various feudal courts. Among them, mention should be made of Pitambara Dasa of *Nrisinha Purana,* the Vaisnava poets Dinakrishna Dasa (*Rasokalloala*), Abhimanyu Samanta Sinhara (*Bidagdha cintamaniru*), Bhaktacharan Dasa (*Mathuramangal*), Kavisurya Baladeva Ratha (*Kisoracandranana Campu*), and the metaphysical poets Arakstta Dasa and Bhima Bhoi. The last remarkable name to be mentioned of this period is of Brajanath Badajana. Among the thirteen available books of Badajana two deserve special mention. One is a story-cycle in prose, and another is a historical narrative-verse on the war between the kings of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar. When Orissa came under the British rule in 1803, most of the late Medieval poets were still alive. The actual modern period started much later, in the sixties of the eighteenth century, when 'the great trio', the torch-bearers of modern Oriya literature, appeared in the field.[4]

It is generally considered that Oriya culture is basically a rural and a folk one, and this is, in fact, nicely reflected in its dance, music and literature. Odisi dance has its own charm, and that is quite different from the classical dances of India. The tunes of Odisi folk-songs also have a different style. But Odisi folk-rhymes have not been collected properly so far. As in the case of Bengali and Assamese, Oriya scholars are now also taking interest in its study. Kunjabehari Dasa and Chakradhar Mahapatra have already collected a few thousands of Oriya folk-poetry and songs, and continue to work on this subject. Unlike the Bengali and Assamese rhymes which dare to attend either the tetra syllabic or the composite moric in their metrical patterns, Oriya rhymes are composed mostly of the various moric and syllabic styles and patterns. The themes of this folk-poetry is almost the same as in the other Eastern vernaculars, nursery rhymes, cradle songs, songs of love and various social festivals. But the Oriya verse recital is rather musical and these various old patterns are still preserved with all earnestness.

Maithili Literature

Mithila has been described as the kingdom of Janaka Raja in the *Ramayana.* In most of the earlier scriptures this State has been referred to as one of the citadels of Sanskrit learning. Bengal and Assam had very close connections with this area from time immemorial. During the rule of the famous Kamarupa king Bhaskaraburman (early *7th* century) in Mithila and during the reign of the Pala and the Sena Kings of Bengal, students used to come to this place for Buddhist and Brahmanic learning. Even at the time of Chaitanyadeva (16*th* century), Mithila and Navadvipa were considered to be the two very important centres of Sanskrit learning. For quite a long period these three linguistic zones had a common culture and even now they have a common script, known as *kutila* or *trihuti lipi.* Thus, having a common heritage, these three languages and their literature was never considered as foreign to each other and, therefore, the Maithili poet Vidyapati is common to all of the three regions.

The earliest Maithili book discovered so far is a prose work on the various interesting descriptions of the poetic conventions. It is a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Varnaratnakara* written by Jyotirisvara. It has been presumed that the book was written in the early fourteenth century, and the scribing date might be early sixteenth century. The book covering 78 folios is divided into seven *kallolas* or chapters entitled *nagara varnana* (description of the city), *nayaka varnana* (description of the hero and heroine), *asthan varnana* (description of the place), *ritu varnana* (description of the seasons), *payanaka varnana* (description of the hunting and war march of the royal family), *bhattadi varnana* (description of the *bhata* and other courtesans) and *kala varnana* (description of the natural scene). From the contents of this book we may infer that the writer was giving a literary description of the then royal society and its environment. The style of the early vernacular prose also has been preserved here, and is a little different from the modern syntax form, The next important figure in Maithili literature is Vidyapati Thakur, whose date of advent has been calculated as c. 1380 to 1460 A.D. Vidyapati was the court-poet of the Sinha kings of Mithila and atleast ten important persons of that royal family acted as his patrons in different times ranging between 1400 to 1460 A.D. Besides the various Sanskrit works, Vidyapati wrote two books in Maithil-Abahatta known as, *Kirtilata* and *Kirtipataka. Kirtilata* is a narrative *kavya* arranged in four *pallavas* or chapters. The poet relates how Mithila was reconquered from the Muslim ruler Aslan, by Bira Sinha and Kirtti Sinha. The poet has presented the story in the form of dialogue between *bhringa* (male bee) and *bhringi* (female bee), giving various vivid sketches of the social life of the kings and courtesans of the society of Mithila. *Kirtipataka* is a book of praise for Shiva Sinha, written in prose. The main portion (pp. 8-29) of the manuscript being missing, it is difficult to judge the quality of the book. But, once again, the poet has given descriptions of the fight of Shiva Sinha with the Muslim invaders. The amorous life of the royal family has also been depicted. Vidyapati composed quite a few songs in the praise of *Siva, Ganga* and *Sakti,* which are very popular in Eastern Bihar under the name of *Mahesa-vani,* and *Hara-Gauri lacari git.*

But the songs for which Vidyapati has earned immortal fame in the entire region of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa are the love-songs on the Krishna-Radha episode, known as *brajabuli git.* More than a thousand such songs have been attributed to him. About two hundred were discovered from the proper Mithila region, while one old manuscript comprising about three hundred songs was discovered from Nepal, and the rest were located in Bengal. But it appears that, perhaps, the popular *brajabuli* songs attributed to Vidyapati, which were collected from Bengal, were mostly written by another younger Vidyapati known as *Bangali* Vidyapati. In spite of that fact, there is no reason to doubt that the Maithili Vidyapati was the best *brajabuli* poet, and his poetic talent may be compared with any of the first-rate poets of Medieval India. He had a thorough knowledge about the art of love, and for his love-poems he devised an artificial new style of language and diction. Even in the use of metre he made some new bold experiments in the line of Jayadeva's *matravritta* style. This *brajabuli* style helped both Bengali and Assamese immensely in the creation of the new branches of literature known as *padavali kirttana, baragit,* and *arikiyanat.*

The next phase of Maithili literature, due to political disturbances, seems to be comparatively quite feeble in quality. Most of the poets took refuge in the safer regions of Nepal, and cultivated a new style of opera known as *kirtaniya nat.* Some of the popular titles of these musical dramas composed and staged at that period are, *Rukmini haran, Sudama-carit, Gauri svayambar, Srikrishna lila, Parijat haran, Usha haran, Prabhavati haran,* and so on. All the themes are mythical and mostly Vaisnavite. However, these musical dramas are now very popular in the eastern region of Bihar. It is interesting to note that both in Assamese and Maithili, dramatical performances became popular in this late Medieval period. At least one Bengali drama entitled *Gopichandranataka* was also composed and staged in the 17*th* century, and has been recorded in one of its manuscripts preserved in the National Archives of Nepal. In Orissa, various musical performances also became popular during this period. Therefore, we may presume that a long tradition of dramatic performances was in vogue at that time.

Canda Jha (1830-1907), a late nineteenth century poet of the *Ramayana* may be considered to be the last important figure of the Medieval Maithili literature. Earlier than him, a few oft-quoted names are, Locana, Bhupatindra, Govindadasa, Manabodh, Sahebram, Karnasyam and Harsanatha. The three main trends of Maithili literature of this late Medieval period are, the Vidyapati-songs, the *Kirtaniya nats* (including Manabodha-songs) and the *bhajana* songs. A challenging task awaits the historians of Maithili literature to collect, arrange and evaluate this very rich tradition of Medieval writings.

To summarize, a very short account of the development of the four major Eastern vernacular literatures has been presented. It gives us an idea of how and when these vernaculars had evolved from the Eastern Avahatta. The Eastern culture, more or less, is of the same nature, having different shades in the different language-zones. At least two poets, Jayadeva and Vidyapati could attract followers from all these four languages. The earliest book written in some proto-Eastern vernacular, *Caryagitikos,* may also be claimed by all these four languages. Some poets belonging to the border areas of two linguistic zones are often claimed by both the languages. In writing the histories of these languages and literatures, scholars so far have only turned towards some of the major works, or the peak points of those vernaculars. But the vast arena of folk-cultures remains almost untouched, and without this total study of that virgin field a true evaluation of the vernacular literatures would remain incomplete. In addition, historians of the vernacular literatures have not taken into consideration the social, religious and the economic aspects in judging the merits of literary works. In short, this neglect has shortened the literary perspectives as well as, of course, the historical reconstruction of that period and region. For a Sourcebook these shortcomings must be taken into account.

NOTES

1. The versified songs compiled in this book were composed in the *10th-12th* centuries and the manuscript was scribed probably in the *13th* century.
2. The dates have been fixed on the basis of Chatterji and Shahidullah.
3. A few thousand Bengali, Assamese and Sanskrit manuscripts are lying in the personal collection of Professor J. Bhattacharya, at his Gauhati residence. He has prepared a descriptive catalogue of all the Bengali manuscripts available so far. These should be published as early as possible.
4. Fakirmahan Senapati (1843-1918), Radhanath Ray (1848-1928) and Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912) are known as 'the great trio' of modern Oriya Literature.

N. C. NATH

A Word-Study Approach

THIS paper confines itself to word-study in the field of linguistics, and tries to show how individual words (including proper names) may throw a flood of light on the various aspects of our civilization.

Usually words are taken at their face value or in the current sense that has come to be attached to the words, for some reason or other, and the world goes on with this set of meanings. But this superficial knowledge may, on a deeper scrutiny, reveal quite a different set of meanings. Thus, many a fact, hitherto unknown, may come to light. In other words, by studying sentences of ancient texts in their traditionally accepted meanings, we cannot proceed very much in examining a culture or a civilization in its totality. A study of the components of sentences may reveal the intrinsic significance of these words which are present in the ancient texts.

Word, or in Sanskrit *Sabda,* occupies a very prominent place in Ancient Indian literature. It is equivalent to the sacred Veda and is accepted as a source of knowledge (*pramana*) in Indian philosophy. It is also regarded as another name of Brahma, the term being *sabda-brahma.* The grammarian-philosopher Bhartrihari names the first chapter of his *Vakyapadiya* which deals with words—*Brahma-kanda.* The V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, has used the term *Sabda-Brahma-Vibhaga* for their department of word-study or linguistics. *Vak* (*vac*), another synonym of *sabda,* is adored as a goddess (*Sarasvati*).

Patanjali, the final authority among the Paninian trio, has very beautifully summed up the needs for studying words. He says:

> *uta tva pasyan na dadarsa vacam*
> *uta tva srinivan na srinoti enam,*
> *uta tvasmai tanvam visasre*
> *iaveva patve usati suvasah.*

"Some, though seeing speech, see it not; some, though hearing it, hear not. But to some she unfolds her body as a loving well-dressed wife to her husband." Implying, thereby, that people without knowledge of the *sabdasastra* (word-study) cannot go deep into a language, and it is only to the master of words that this speech-goddess surrenders. The results which may be achieved by the study of words as regards the history and culture of a given people or area will be evident from the following brief examples:

(i) *Bhakta*—the word is usually employed in the sense of a *devotee.* But it has also another sense—rice or food, in which sense the word has developed into NIA *bhat* (rice). Apart from these two senses no other use of the word is so far known; *bhakta* is either a devotee or food.

Now, in the MBH.[1], *Agni-Purana*[2] and *Matsya-Purana,* we see that *bhakta* is used with *vetana* (salary). The MBH passage describes the types of preparation which Krishna's army had made at Dvaraka, for a battle with Saubha, during the siege of the city:

> *datta-vetana-bhaktam ca*
> *dattayudha-paricchadam*
> *tada balam asin mahabhuja.*

At that time the army-men were given their *vetana* and *bhakta,* their weapons and uniforms.

The *Agni-Purana* and *Matsya-Purana* passages are about the types of punishment to be awarded to a cowherd who, after receiving *bhakta* and *vetana,* neglects his duty.

What is this *bhakta,* which goes with *vetana*? Undoubtedly this is the predecessor of modern *bhata* (fr. *bhakta*), allowance. The government and private servants in Ancient India were given a salary as well as an allowance. This allowance is now paid in cash, but in those days it was in kind, as is evident from the above uses of the word *bhakta* (food). It may be noted with interest here that this ancient practice still prevails in the villages of Tripura and adjoining Bengali-speaking areas where a day-labourer is given the mid-day meal in addition to his wages. If the meal is not given, at least 50 paise is to be given over and above the wages. Here, the allowances are either in kind or in cash.

(ii) *Yaksa*—the word stands for a class of semi-divine beings. From Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* it would appear that they were residents of the high Himalayan terrain. Anyway, it is very difficult to identify them as a real Indian race, if ever. From a study of a Bengali dialect, however, a curious fact comes to light. In the Bengali dialect of Sylhet, Tripura, and Cachar *Yaksa* is an example of blackness: *Kala jaikhya* (fr. *Yaksa*)=black as a *Yaksa.* Here we learn about the important fact that the *Yaksas* were black-skinned. Dialect-study leads us to this important discovery. This is probably corroborated by the form: Kub(v) era (Ku-vera? cf. kaveri, a courtesan; *sringavera,* a demon, probably horn-bodied).[3]

Above are some examples of how word-study may be very helpful in the discovery of hidden cultural materials. In Sanskrit, there are numerous words on which very little light has been thrown by scholars, and these await newer and more satisfactory interpretations.

NOTES

1. *Vanaparvan*, 16.21.
2. Vide 227.18(19) *dadyad dhenum na yah palo grihitva bhakta-vetanam :* Matsya-- p. 227.22:
   duhyad dhenum ca yah palo grihitva bhakta-vetanam
   sa tu dandyah satam rajna suvarnam capy-araksita
3. According to *Brahma-vaivarta-purana*, Brahma-khanda. 5.60-61 Kuvera and his race, called the Guhyakas, are, however, of *pingala* (tawny, brown, reddish) colour.

SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA

Linguistics as a Window: A Note

LANGUAGE, which is one of the best of human inventions, embodies man's entire socio-cultural heritage. Therefore, the science of linguistics is that tool which can handle linguistic material and make the past speak. If "Linguistic Palaeontology", as a branch of philosophy, (which is also known as linguistic prehistory), aims at deciphering only the past, then the modern science of linguistics is becoming more and more interested in applying this tool to present societies. A much greater emphasis is now being placed on the culture-bearing capacity of language and its power to distinguish the cycle of life of one human group from another. A large number of synchronic studies have been recently made to show that language accurately reflects behaviour patterns (i.e., our habits, skills, techniques, arts, usages, ceremonies, daily activities, etc.) which have developed through the centuries. It has been shown that language is also a mirror of the whole vast array of institutional systems, material objects, ideas, beliefs, rules and values. For instance, kinship terms throw much light on not only the kinship systems but also the social organization. Thus, if language can measure every facet of our present culture and civilization, there is no reason why the same may not be possible about the remote past, if adequate linguistic records of that period are available.

There are different methods of studying a language. Of them, the comparative and diachronic methods are better of the known effective tools for obtaining information on Ancient India. A few examples cited below will illustrate our point of view.

(i) The divergence found in the Vedic and Sanskrit language cannot be explained with the help of Indo-Iranian or Indo-European philology, and this cannot also be due to internal mutations alone. These departures from the Indo-Iranian norms must be due to contacts with the other groups of languages spoken in India at that time, which undoubtedly had different phonological and morphological systems, and different sets of words. We may, therefore, infer from these extraneous elements in the Vedic and Sanskrit language that Indian society was composed of a heterogenous population in those days. When we find a difference of spellings and pronunciation even in the Vedic texts, we can predict from it, depending on the linguistic theory, that sounds of a language have a culture-bearing capacity; that the Vedic Aryans themselves were a somewhat mixed lot, and not composed of only one section speaking the same dialect.

(ii) There is a close connexion between language and culture, and the sounds and formatives of a language are vehicles of that culture. The way in which a Bengali often pronounces Sanskrit, or a person from U.P. or South India often pronounces English, can disclose the provincial speech-habits. These 'stereotypes' are also to be found in Ancient India e.g., it is narrated in a late Vedic text that the Asuras fell in battle against the Aryans and were crying aloud *helaya, helaya* to seek mercy from the victors. In this case, the mispronunciation by the substitution of the Sanskrit *-r-* by the *-l-* of a non-Aryan speech-tradition, which smacks of a certain amount of vulgarity, has been hinted at and ridiculed. (Sans: *her-aya*)

(iii) The adoption of a large number of synonyms in Sanskrit for the same meaning (viz. *jala, udaka, toya, nira, paniya,* etc. all meaning the same thing, i.e. 'water') indicates that a state of bilingualism existed in Ancient India which resulted in these loans from the non-Aryan languages. Atleast one of them, i.e. *nira,* can be identified now to be a loan from Dravidian. According to some scholars, *udaka* is borrowed from the Austro-Asiatic. This bilingualism led also to many phonological and morphological innovations in the Vedic and Sanskrit language. These innovations truly Indianized the Aryan language and made it Indo-Aryan and, in turn, the Indo-Aryan languages became more distant from the European ones, and drew them closer to the Asiatic types. It should also be mentioned here that the Vedic language was closer to the Ancient Iranian language, and from this linguistic evidence alone we can surmise that the Vedic culture was very similar to the early Iranian culture, while the agreements between Vedic India and Ancient Greece were comparatively remote.

(iv) The words of a language have a great power to express the details of the culture of a people who use them. A dictionary is a grand Sourcebook containing magnificent material on the life of a people. The existence of *nighantu* and many *abhidhanas* in Ancient India, the existence of a fully developed script, and the development of the science of phonetics as early as in the Vedic age, all these are symptoms of a high level of culture and civilization in Ancient India. They mirror a highly complex society having a wide literacy, a society that was very much alert to the accurate description of words and their meanings, and also very much alert to the immense value of etymologies.

(v) Apart from the names of things, even the place-names of Ancient India like Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Malawa, etc. which are based on different tribal names (and also other types of place-names) give us a picture of that society, and of many other minor details of the forgotten past, which compensates for the lack of an historical tradition. The Kikata country of Vedic India was renamed, according to historians, as Magadha in later times. These and the other types of demographic changes also throw much light on the state of things in Ancient India.

(vi) Personal names, family-names and the names of the different *gotras,* have also much to say about our past. The gradual development of Sanskrit kinship terminology is a vast storehouse of information about Ancient Indian society. In the Vedic language *bhrata* not only meant 'brother', but also a 'kinsman', 'near relative', 'an intimate friend', and was used as a term of friendly address. The absence of a specialized meaning of this word is perhaps indicative of an early state of the Aryan society, when kinship-ties were very important; and that this appears to be a relic of a very early state of society when the community itself was treated as the smallest unit by the Indo-Europeans. Family, and not the community, is however now the smallest unit of our society. Today, the cognates of the word *bhrata* in most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages retain the old classificatory function. For example, the Hindi words *bhaiya, bhai-sahab* and the Bengali words *bhai, bhaya,* etc. commonly mean a 'relative of the same status', 'a friend', and are also often used in address to express familiarity with a stranger. The words *sahodara, sodara,* etc. are of later usage in Sanskrit and were needed to be introduced when the family was becoming the nucleus of Aryan social life, so that the 'uterine brother' had to be clearly distinguished from a 'kinsman'. The Greek word *phrater* may be recalled in this connexion which means 'kinsman', while the word 'uterine brother' in Greek is *adelphos* which is equivalent to Sanskrit *sagarbhah.* The Vedic words *svasura* and *svasru,* it seems, originally meant 'husband's father' and 'husband's mother', respectively. We may infer from it that society was patrilineal in its structure at that time. The meanings of the words were later extended to 'wife's father' and 'wife's mother', respectively. This was also the position in Ancient Greece, and it can be understood from the meaning of the cognate, *hekuros* 'husband's father', etc.

(vii) The rice produced from unboiled paddy, today, is called in Bengali *alo chal,* and apart from using it for eating, it is also used for the purpose of worship. Cognates of this word are also found in the Dravidian and Munda tribal languages of Central India, and those people also use it for the purpose of worship. This word obviously cannot be derived from the Sanskrit word *atapa,* meaning 'sun-dried (paddy)'. The word-group must be connected with the set of South Dravidian words, Ta. *ari,* rice, paddy, *arici,* rice without husk; Ka. *akki,* rice without husk; Te. *ari,* rice freed from husk, etc. (cf. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary,* by Burrow and Emeneau, item 178). It is interesting to note that this word, of Dravidian culture, was borrowed through the trade-channels by the Arabs who called it *arus*(z), *uruz*(z) rice. From them, the word and the article were transferred to Ancient Greece and Rome where the word assumed the form of *oryza*, rice. The word and the article were subsequently adopted in many other European countries; cf. Old French *ris*, Italian *riso* and English *rice*.

In short, a comparative study of two or more languages of the same age, or of different ages, may reveal a great deal of information which even the very faithful historical records cannot always furnish. It has thus been possible to find out the different linguistic strata in the Vedic and Sanskrit language. This linguistic stratification has been one of our main sources of information, because if we do not know which text belongs to which period, it is impossible to get any chronological history and cultural progress of Ancient India from the literary records. Hence, the science of linguistics may provide many such instances, and is in fact an inexhaustible archive of information on India's hoary past. Here lies a vast mine of information in which a large number of scholars will be able to quarry for many years to come.[1]

NOTE

1. Among the early scholars who have contributed to linguistic research, mention may be made of the names of Max Muller, Caldwell, Gundert and Kittel, who worked in the last century. Many more scholars who have tried this method in the twentieth century are: Grierson, Konow, Macdonell, Pargiter, Rapson, Meillet, Levi, Bloch, Przyluski, Chatterji, Taraporewala, Renou, Burrow, Emeneau, Kuiper and others.

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PHILOSOPHY
AND
RELIGION

A. K. MAJUMDAR

Area and Time Dimensions of Philosophy, Religion and Art

PHILOSOPHY

In the present context, it will be sufficient to illustratively discuss two systems of metaphysics, namely, Buddhism and Vedanta, and one system of epistemology, namely, Nyaya.

Buddhism

It is easy to fix the chronological upper limit of Buddhism. But difficulty arises when we have to consider the lower limit because in many countries of South-East Asia, Buddhism is still a living force. However, it is neither desirable nor possible to trace the history of Buddhism until the present period. The problem, therefore, is to determine the time when the ancient phase of Buddhism in all probability must have ended.

Another problem in regard to Buddhism outside India particularly in China, is to determine its Indian content. As Prof. W. Liebenthal writes: "One wonders where Indian influence comes in. It certainly is visible in the worship of gods (Buddhas and Bodhisattvas) of a formerly unknown kind, kind-hearted and strict on morality at once, divine social leaders to whom one would willingly submit. Did Buddhist influence exhaust itself in this leadership? Was *Hu Shih* right to propose that the Chinese accepted Buddhist tradition only in order to discard it piece-meal? They discarded the undigestable but could the philosophers have gone all the way from Tao to Him, to the unnameable, the transcendent One, who is experienced only in the silence of one's own mind (*tzu-hsin fo*) without the influence of Nagarjuna? Certainly not. If so, how did this influence work? As chemical-biological growth is not possible without the stimulation by an enzyme, so it seems that cultures die a lingering death unless they are rejuvinated by influence from abroad, an influence which is quite specific though wholly unexpected and works without transmitting anything materially. The history of the Chinese Buddhist philosophy is a convenient instance of this general law." (W. Liebenthal: *Chao Len,* Hong Kong, 1968, p. 42).

However, Indian influence on Chinese Buddhism was far more profound and penetrating than what Liebenthal admits, but this point has to be gone into very thoroughly by experts.

Vedanta

Although Upanisads are the soul of Vedanta as a regular system of philosophy, yet it really begins from *c.* A.D. 800 when Acharya Shankara wrote his commentaries. The last important commentary on the *Brahma-sutra* was written by Baladeva Vidyabhushana, a native of Orissa, in the 18*th* century. Between these two, important commentaries were written by Acharya Ramanuja (A.D. 1017-1137), Acharya Nimbarka (date uncertain), Acharya Madhva (A.D. 1238-1317), and Acharya Vallabha (A.D. 1479-1532 or 1481-1533). There are also important Saiva commentaries, as for example by Srikantha, of a much earlier date.

Thus, any description of Vedanta must take into account atleast the commentaries by the five Acharyas, Baladeva, and of Srikantha, that is, the development of Vedanta will have to be traced up to the 18*th* century.

Nyaya

The Nyaya system is quite old, but what really concerns us here is *Navya-nyaya* or Neo-logic, which strictly speaking began with Raghunatha Siromani of the 16*th* century. Only an expert in *Navya-nyaya* can say when its creative phase ended.

RELIGION

While discussing the caste-system, M.P.V. Kane wrote in the *History of Dharmasastra* (II, p. 104): "It is only in the census reports prepared at great expense by the British Government after elaborate efforts and organization that the great complexity of the caste system is laid bare to the eye". As no such attempt has ever been made to find out the actual beliefs and practices of the Hindus, the complexity of Hindu religion still remains practically unexplored. Therefore, the lower-most time limit should be fixed around the 13*th* or 14*th* century, that is, the period upto which iconography has been studied.

Both Saivism and Vaisnavism flourished in South-East Asia, and some of the inscriptions in Cambodia give interesting details about temple administration which are not available from any Indian source. This increases the area of our study.

It would also be worthwhile to collect and publish details of rituals which were followed in some of the famous ancient temples.

ART

The period of Ancient Indian art will no doubt have to include the Hoysala period and the art of Orissa, that is, upto the 14*th*-15*th* century. But in the South, the Classical traditions handed down by the Pallavas, Colas and Pandyas, were faithfully maintained by the Emperors of Vijayanagara (*c.* A.D. 1350-1650) and the Nayakas of Madura (*c.* A.D. 1600-1700 or later).

It is generally assumed that art in South-East Asia owes as much to India as religion. This claim has been challenged by many European scholars. In any case, a cautious appraisal of the influence of Indian art is necessary in order to find out whether the major influence on South-East Asian art was that of Indian art or that of religion alone. Thus, it is possible to state that the architects and sculptors of South-East Asia had worked on an imported religious theme which they were skilfully able to graft on to their own tradition, and that they had harmonized their own inherited skill and creative aspirations to the religious needs of a basically allied culture. A proposition like this would suggest a process which is in reverse to what may be said about Gandharan art, in which an alien technique was utilized to serve the needs of an indigenous religion.

It will be clear from the above brief discussion that the period covered by Ancient Indian civilization extends far beyond the limit assigned to it in political history. Therefore, a Sourcebook will have to aim at being exhaustive. But it would hardly be within the scope of Indian scholars to prepare a Sourcebook for Asian civilization or civilizations on a similar scale. Rabindranath Tagore had said, in Tokyo, in 1929: "When we talk about European civilization, we use a term which is real in its meaning, it is an undoubted fact. But when they talk glibly of the oriental mind and culture, they do not realize that we have not yet been able to develop a universal mind, a great background of oriental cultures. Our cultures are too scattered." This point needs a very close and detailed consideration, namely, whether there is a perceptible Asian civilization, in the sense that there is an Indian civilization or a European civilization. If there is such an Asian civilization, then what are its characteristics which are common to all the civilizations which flourished in Asia?

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Classification of Material : A Note

THE importance of the role of philosophy and religion of India in a Sourcebook of Indian civilization is much too obvious to be stressed here. This note is illustrative, in brief, of the general problems which we will face. Take the example of the Vedas and the Tripitaka which are concerned mainly with the philosophy and religion of the two great religions of Indian origin, Hinduism and Buddhism. Extensive work has already been done on these by ancient Indian scholars as well as by modern scholars, mostly Europeans. These works include commentaries, translations, expositions in classical and modern languages, detailed reviews of their contents, and the various other kinds of reference books. Besides, some indices are also in existence. Now, when we are thinking of reconstructing the history of Indian civilization and propose to plan a Sourcebook with that objective in mind, one of the problems which we would, for example, face is of how to place the material scattered in these two Hindu and Buddhist scriptures, the Vedas and the Tripitaka, at the disposal of the new researchers and scholars.

The most effective and useful way for preparing the proposed Sourcebook for this field would be to collect and classify, under different headings and sub-headings, all the material related to religion and philosophy which may be found in the Vedas and Tripitaka. Some work of this kind, of course, has already been done, but that is only partial. We should aim at a thorough exhaustive sifting of all the material. This requires a little elucidation. For instance, take the term 'Agni' (the deity of fire) to which a large number of hymns of the Rigveda are dedicated. There are several ideas or attributes related to this deity, most of these being repeated again and again, and at different places in the texts. A fruitful method would be to quote the actual words used in the verse, giving its literal rendering, which should be wholly objective and not interpretative or subjective. Then, all references to the occurrence of that idea may be given, of course noting the points of differences which may be found in the various contexts. Such a work of reference should not be confined to merely the principal deities, but should be extended to the other various 'minor' ideas and concepts found in the Rigveda, such as the concepts of 'Sattya' or 'Rita' or 'Sradha' etc. None-the-less, there is bound to be a repetition of many things coming under these different headings. But that is unavoidable. These references should be exhaustive of all of the material found in the Vedas or Tripitaka. This study of the different ideas and concepts should be carried to later literature also. Thus, apart from the Vedic Samhitas, the Vedas have a vast literature in the form of numerous later commentaries. Similarly, the Tripitaka too has a vast literature in the form of commentaries and expositions. It will be essential for us, therefore, that this vast Vedic and Buddhist literature is exhausted in the study of the development of ideas and concepts, related to Indian religion and philosophy.

In connection with the exhaustive study of references in Vedic literature, the position of Rigveda requires a very thorough and proper appraisal. This is specially because it not only stands at the head of the Vedic literature, but because it is quite separate and distinct from the Brahmanic literature. The latter is principally ritualistic or sacrificial, beginning from the Yajurveda and is developed in the Brahmanas and Sutras. The position of Atharvaveda appears to be doubtful. But it is absolutely certain that the Rigveda is different from Brahmanism. If there are present some traces of Brahmanism, as for instance in the well-known reference to the four castes in the Purusha hymn, it has been conclusively proved that they are later interpolations. In short, in the study of the basic structure of Indian culture, the Rigveda stands quite apart from the rest of Vedic literature. This significant fact must not be overlooked in our Sourcebook.

The preparation of a Sourcebook with such minute and detailed classified references, as has been suggested above, will mean a stupendous task, involving enormous labour and the setting up of a big organization. But that is unavoidable if our Sourcebook is intended to be a distinct addition to the vast references already found in the existing literature on the subject. A Sourcebook must be exhaustive if it has to be meaningful even if it is confined, in the beginning, to some selective topics of examining only some of the branches of the subjects concerned.

SIDDHESWAR BHATTACHARYA

Philosophy, Religion and Civilization : A Note

THE present note is concerned with three important terms—philosophy, religion and civilization.

Philosophy: In the Hindu context, philosophy is insight—*darsana.* Insight or *darsana* is an intensely intellectual process culminating in the realization of the totality of things—*drastavyo mantavyo nididhyasitavyah.* It covers the within, without and the beyond.

Modern psychology in its zest to be regarded as a branch of science has largely leaned on physical behaviour. But this subject deals with only the fleeting shadows, in spite of tall claims, and is also the case with idealistic Buddhism. But an enquirer cannot afford self-extinction in the name of *nirvana* of nihilistic Buddhism. But as insight within, Hindu philosophy therefore moves beyond psychology to fall back upon the pristine glory that man is, *sve mahimni pratisthitah.* Furthermore, metaphysics begins where physics with its emphasis on physical laws ends. Insight outside, i.e., *darsana* in its second phase touches upon the law of physical laws, that integrates all physical laws into a source law, the inviolable to which all physical laws bow in obedience—*bhisasmat pavanah pavate.*

Insight in its three phases—within, without and beyond—thus completes the circle. It starts with the investigation of man, ransacks the physical world and at last reposes upon the Supreme that subsumes both man and the world.

Religion: The law that governs the mental phenomena and the law that regulates all physical laws are parallel and yet they come under the Supreme. As law is order or harmony, the Supreme is harmony *par excellence.* As already noted, the Supreme *per se* is truth; and truth is harmony in relation to man and the world. In other words, *rita* or harmony is truth or *satya* in action. Being the source of both mental and physical laws and at the same time being *satya* in action, *rita* is looked upon as the moral order.

From the Hindu point of view, *satya* (truth), *rita* (moral order) and *dharma* (religion) are one and the same reality. Reality in its absoluteness is truth, as the presupposition of man and the world is moral order, just as the state of realization of the infinite possibilities inherent in truth is religion. Again, just as truth, religion is the principle of sustenance that keeps things going—*charanat dharma ucyate.* As the dynamics of truth, religion first descends on man's mind to be accepted without questioning. Truth and its corollary, non-violence, are therefore taken as universal virtues—virtues for all times to come. To the Upanisadic seer, *dharma* or religion, the principle of sustenance and the moral order, is behind the operation of these, the centre of our universe as well—*yatas codeti dharmah astam yatra ca gacchati, tam devas cakrire dharmam sa evadya so eva svah.*

Thus, reality unfolds itself in three successive steps—truth, moral order and religion—*satya, rita* and *dharma.*

Civilization : Paradoxically, sacrifice which is self-surrender, is the continuous process of self-expansion. Through religion, which sacrifice is, man breaks through his egoistic shell to glide into the ocean of infinitude. Such self-expansion is the result of a constant interaction of man with his fellow beings, with the universe and also with God. It is a ceaseless process of give-and-take. Art, literature, science and technology—in a word civilization—happen to be the products of self-expansion i.e., man's religion. Being the products of *dharma,* art and literature, science and technology should stand for harmony. They are all expressions of truth that is beautiful, that is bliss—*satyam, sivam, sundaram.*

In any form of civilization (ancient, medieval or modern), therefore, philosophy and religion are of vital importance. The study of civilization of a particular period is determined by what the man of that period thought and felt about truth in theory and truth in practice, i.e., philosophy and religion.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

H. D. SANKALIA AND M. K. DHAVALIKAR

The Importance of Archæology

ARCHÆOLOGY constitutes a most important source of Ancient Indian civilization. As such, the period of a Sourcebook should begin from the Early Stone Age. This is all the more necessary because during the Palæolithic Period, the Himalayan region and the whole of South-East Asia and China probably formed one "cultural zone" which was characterised by the technology of the Chopper-Chopping stone tools. Similarly, in the Neolithic times Eastern India was akin to Burma and other South-East Asian countries. This also is the case with some of the Megalithic monuments.

India's contacts with Western Asia go back to the third millenium B.C. as is evident from excavated remains. The Harappan Civilization owed its complexity in no small measure to the Bronze Age cultures of West Asia. Time and again, discoveries have brought forth new evidence on the problem of urbanization in Ancient India. Innumerable inscribed tablets recovered from Ur and other sites bear eloquent testimony to the flourishing trade of West Asia with India. It is needless to emphasize that the text of some of these tablets should find a place in a Sourcebook.

Another important region worth considering is Egypt. Although, strictly speaking, it does not form a part of West Asia yet it is necessary to include it within the scope of a Sourcebook not only because the Harappans had cultural contacts with the Ancient Egyptians but also because it was the main link in our flourishing trade with Imperial Rome in the early centuries of the Christian era. This trade was entirely in the hands of Arab middlemen of Alexandria, and it is amply borne out by the accounts of the Classical writers who, undoubtedly, should also find place in a Sourcebook.

Thus, in the chronological context, the period to be covered by a Sourcebook should begin with the prehistoric period—which would form a sort of backdrop—specially because there is no general agreement regarding the beginning of the Ancient Period. Be that as it may, we would in any case like a Sourcebook to cover the period until the Medieval times, because countries in South-East Asia had developed strong individualistic traits by this time.

In the context of the topics for a Sourcebook, pre- and proto-historic cultures should, of course, form an important part. But ancient art also forms an important branch of archæology, included under art being both æsthetics and iconography. However, as there is a dearth of scholars, we strongly recommend the establishment of an 'Asian Art Archives' located at a centrally suitable place. This organization would acquire and preserve accurate drawings, plans and photographic records of the various phases of Asian art, architecture, sculpture, painting and other industrial arts. It might make its research material available to individual scholars and learned institutions, at a nominal cost. If such facilities become available in the country, scholars may be able to study Asian art in general, and more especially South and South-East Asian art even, perhaps, without an adequate grounding in any non-Indian language.

In terms of the actual planning of a Sourcebook it would be proper to give a general introduction giving an overall view of the material presented, in addition to the specific introduction to the chapters on each topic. Each volume would consist of translations in English from the original sources which may be taken from the available published sources, whereas many others will be required to be specially translated. At the same time, it is equally necessary to give important epigraphical and literary records which are in Sanskrit in the transcribed form. Along with extensive introductory essays there should be an annotated commentary for them. It may not, therefore, be necessary to present a review after each chapter of the primary and secondary sources and the literature on that topic. But an exhaustive and annotated bibliography at the end of each chapter will prove of great use.

In conclusion we may state, in general, that a work of this magnitude cannot be completed by a single centralised unit, i.e., if we are to deal with diverse Asiatic countries whose civilizations we want to study. It is, therefore, suggested that separate units should be set up at different centres to undertake the collection of data. For this, we should find out the institutions where such work is already done or where there are experts specializing in a particular region. For example, we may find some experts in the Calcutta University who would be able to undertake work on China, Japan and Korea; for Ceylon we may have experts from the Madras University; while the universities in North India could provide experts so far as Nepal and Tibet are concerned. We, in the Deccan College, could undertake to collect material on West Asia and Central Asia which is mostly archæological i.e., the material on the pre- and proto-historic cultures of the various regional units in Asia. If these centres are given financial assistance to carry out the task entrusted to them, which they will willingly undertake, the burden of the work on a single centralized unit will be distributed among specialists in different fields. This will also help such centres to further specialize in 'Area-Studies' of their own choice. Nevertheless, we may have a central committee of experts to supervise the work, if and when it is necessary. This will not only make the scheme practical to carry out, but it will also enable the institutions to initiate and encourage young scholars to specialize in 'Area-Studies'. We very strongly feel that this is perhaps the only way to achieve the task successfully. If it is accepted, we may then have periodical meetings to assess the progress of work and also to collate data, and to see that work is carried to a successful conclusion within the specified time of the Fourth Plan period. But in view of the shortage of time and funds available, one volume may first be prepared, say on South and/or South-East Asia, and see how this unit handles a sample project.

B. B. LAL*

Archæology as a Source : A Note

In the planning of a Sourcebook periodization is necessary because unless a certain determined period is taken into account as a whole, it may not be easy for the subject-matter to be itemized. It is only by such a synthetic interpretation that a Sourcebook would appear intelligible and produce a composite picture. In this context, one may exemplify it from three archæological sources, that is, from pre-Harappan, Harappan and post-Harappan sites, as follows:

(i) The pre-Harappan site at Kalibangan may be dated between 1500 and 2000 B.C. At this site, people lived in houses in a township which had a wall around it. Although they had used metal and sophisticated pottery yet there is no evidence of writing. However, the most valuable discovery here has been the presence of prehistoric furrow marks in the field which are at right angles to each other, i.e., one row is with an in-between distance of 30 centimetres, and the other row is with an in-between distance of 50 centimetres. These furrow marks, when one compares them with the present day agricultural practices in Rajasthan, are found to be exactly similar to the contemporary ones. Today, in the 30-centimeter-distance rows black gram is grown, while in the 50-centimeter-distance ones mustard is grown. Thus, this continuity of the pre-Harappan agricultural tradition, which continues till today, is of great importance.

(ii) At the Harappan levels of Kalibangan, recent discoveries have helped in the reconstruction of the religious and social structure in a manner which was hitherto not known. The idea of a king at Harappa seems less likely now since the citadel excavated at Kalibangan reveals seven ritualistic platforms, with pits outside which contain charred animal bones. Moreover, the residential quarters were situated in the north-eastern end of the citadel, while to the east of the citadel the wall-enclosed township of Kalibangan was located, with streets that ran north-south and east-west. But to the south of the citadel living quarters were found, which were possibly meant for professional 'labourers' because these are without any protecting walls.

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* This note emerges from the discussions and introductory remarks made by B. B. Lal when he was the chairman of the *7th* Business Session—Editor.

Thus, at Kalibangan, there seem to be no separate classes of kings and priests as had been surmised earlier for the other Harappan areas. Therefore, as has been pointed out by others earlier and recently also by Malik (*Indian Civilization: The Formative Period*), there probably did exist a privileged class in whose hands both these functions were combined.

(iii) The excavations at places mentioned in the Mahabharata e.g. Hastinapur, Mathura, Kurukshetra, Panipat, etc. have uniformly revealed a very identical "material-culture", characterized by the Painted-Grey-Ware pottery. These settlements put the events of the Mahabharata to c. 1000 B.C., which may also be supported from the literary evidence present in the Rigveda, Mahabharata and the Puranas.

IRAWATI KARVE*

Utilisation of Folk-lore and Myths

MYTHS and folk-lore contain people's memories woven into dream and fantasy. Sometimes these fantasies so overwhelm the memory picture that we tend to forget that myths and folk-lore enshrine a bit of narration, a bit of experience and a bit of history.

When a lioness speaks to a fox's cub[1] the beast's talking is a fantasy, but when she expresses the sentiment that a particular action is not expected of somebody born in a particular family, she is symbolically referring to a social belief about castes and their hereditary functions, thus revealing a social fact.

A number of exploits of the Pandavas may be a fantasy, but we have to remember that the Mahabharata represents memories of kings, who ruled and fought, memories which a professional bard, called Suta, kept alive. The Ramayana represents yet another kind of record, and after we get in hand the critical editions of these two great books we should utilize the data offered by them for constructing a meaningful history of the life, custom and culture of our people at a particular time, in a particular area.

The emphasis here is on the elements of place and time in making use of myths and folk-lore because in lumping together myths or their versions which belong to different times we lose vital information as also the dynamic aspects of myths and folk-lore. In the same way, in lumping together stories which belong to different areas or regions some very pertinent cultural facts may be lost sight of. Another suggestion would be to keep the different versions of a particular myth as separate entities until the whole analysis is completed. It is only then that this type of material may be used as a basis of a search after cultural routes and of routes taken by different strands of culture.

This paper is not going into the psychological speculations about myths and folk-lore. It attempts to give, on the other hand, examples of some myths in

* Prof. (Mrs.) Irawati Karve died soon after she had submitted this paper: a great loss for the world academic community, especially for India—Editor.

order to illustrate what has been stated up to now. Mention will also be made of a project which is in hand to use the folk-lore or a narration for a very particular type of anthropological investigation.

As regards the Mahabharata and Ramayana there is not only a common background but there are also interesting differences. In them a vivid picture is given of patrilineal-patriarchal-patrilocal polygynous families belonging to the ruling class. In both, the dispute is about succession and secondarily, we get a lot of data of the ownership of property and the kind of property owned. Though they are stories about a particular class they illustrate crisis situations in the social structure—called the patrilineal family—and the role played by the married woman in such a family. In one case the disputed succession could be resolved only through a bitter war, in another by a mutual understanding among brothers. The Mahabharata story has played a great part everywhere and in every generation in India upto now. Half the murders reported in daily papers are about disputed land. If some people solve such a dispute by the Ramayana methods, it is not known very much, as such incidents are not reported in the daily papers.

As regards property, we have various unmistakable cases which show that it was owned by a man individually; that a certain amount of land was owned by a king, but he was not the owner of all the land in his kingdom. A man, however, 'owned' his wife and his sons and daughters. He could get a son by making his wife sleep with whom he wanted, he could sell his sons and daughters, he could put up his wife as a pawn in a game of chance. The right over a wife was supported on the analogy of ownership over land held by a person and was called *Bija Ksetra Nyaya*. According to this conception the moral responsibility of womenfolk was also limited—if a woman was taken away in war and became pregnant before she was rescued—she was not held morally guilty.

From this narration it appears that the *Dayabhaga* conception of inheritance was nearer to the old Aryan conception. This would make *Mitaksara* a modification of the old conception. Why was the old idea modified? Was it in response to Southern Dravidian practices? These and allied questions need to be studied from an anthropological point of view.

Against these and other similarities, there are surprising differences in the two narrations. The Mahabharata story depicts happenings later in date to the Ramayana happening, but from many points of view it presents a far more archaic society than the one depicted in the Ramayana. There is no mention of temples in the Mahabharata. The picture of worship given in the Ramayana is almost modern. Apparently, in the palace of Queen Kausalya there was a room set aside for worship of images (*Deo-ghar* is the word used in Marathi). In the Mahabharata personal relationship in a family is very different to that found in the Ramayana. The court of a king is itself different in both the stories, and shows unmistakable signs of brahmanization at some later date. But the Ramayana in its whole conception seems to be more dominated by Brahmin sages and Brahmanical rules than does the Mahabharata. Both stories belong to Northern India but the Mahabharata belongs more to Western-North India, more to the Jamna basin, while the Ramayana belongs definitely to the Middle and Eastern portions of the Gangetic basin.

Is the difference in the two stories due to the different ways in which old Aryanism was developed in the West and the East? Western Aryanism in some ways was different from Eastern Aryanism as is seen from the whole mood of the Mahabharata and Ramayana. The difference is illustrated also by certain later historical incidents, the three schisms in old Hinduism all flourished in the eastern Gangetic plain. Yajnyavalkya was a disciple and nephew of Vaisampayana. He had a dispute with his *guru* and had to leave the western Jamna-Ganga basin and went all the way to Videha (modern Central Bihar), to be recognized centuries afterwards in the same land where Jainism and Buddhism were nurtured. In the same area, there were established the first great empires of Hindu and Buddhist India. Ayodhya was very closely connected to Videha and the neighbouring kingdoms and not so intimately connected to Western-North India, though a princess of Kekaya in the extreme North-West married Dasaratha. It will be worthwhile to trace the contributions of Western and Eastern centres of Aryanism to the earlier and later cultural history of India.

The geography with which the two stories show acquaintance is also different. The Mahabharata, depicting incidents which happened one or two centuries after the Ramayana incidents, shows familiarity with some Eastern kingdoms like Magadha, but its chief concern is with North-Western and Western India. All the kingdoms of North-Western India are mentioned accurately. To the south, the kingdoms mentioned are Matsya, Dasarna (Cedi), Dvaraka and Vidarbha. All these kingdoms had exchanged daughters, one with the other. The political alliances extended from Sindhu (Jayadratha) in the West to Kasi in the East, and Balhikas in the North to Vidarbha in the South. The Eastern kingdom of Magadha was also involved in the political struggle depicted in the Mahabharata. Each kingdom is described as a small region perhaps as big as a district governed in a hereditary way by a particular princely family. Each kingdom was separated from the others by strips of forests. The empire-building of Jarasandha is a kind of a foretaste of things to come.

As against this the Ramayana is played within a comparatively narrow geographical field. The most nearly connected people ranged between Ayodhya, Kasi and Videha. The kingdom of Magadha was theirs, but it did not play any part in the story. To the south of the Ganga and west of the Sona two kingdoms, Magadha and Karusa, are mentioned, but when Rama crossed the Ganga at Prayaga no kings or kingdoms are mentioned. He came straight to the forested area and lived for ten years in the various *asramas* of the *risis*. The editors of the critical edition of the Ramayana and the South Indian scholar P.S. Iyer think that Lanka was somewhere in the North, within the Vindhya mountains.[2] This shows that the geography depicted by the Ramayana reached southwards only upto and including Bundelkhand of the present day, and that there were no Aryan kingdoms in this area at that time. The Ramayana critical edition is based on a twelfth century manuscript. But Kalidasa who lived in the fourth century places Lanka to the extreme South. We also know that Buddhism was taken to Ceylon a few centuries before Christ. This may have led to the identification of Lanka with Ceylon. One would like to know at what time the word *Pampa* (Hampi) was used for a southern area situated on the river Tungabhadra.

This leads us into a greater and more involved problem, about cultural transmissions and communications. The Krishna cult was established earlier than the Rama cult, and had travelled south via Mathura, Rajputana and Gujarat into Maharashtra. We have an unbroken literary tradition from the thirteenth century upto the nineteenth century of the Varkari sect, and Vaisnavism or Krishna cult. No great devotee of Rama is known before Ramadasa who lived in the seventeenth century. The Rama story was written in the Northern Indian modern languages not earlier than the sixteenth century, while the Kampa Ramayana was written in Tamil some time in the thirteenth century. Did the Rama story reach the South earlier than it reached North-Western India? We also know that the Rama story was carried into South-East Asia during this period by the Tamil people. Ayuthia, the name of a city in Cambodia, and Jogyakarta in Indonesia are forms of the Sanskrit word Ayodhya. For the anthropologist it would be worthwhile finding out the influences of the Krishna story and Rama story in India and also to find out which people worship Krishna and which Rama. Our impression for the Mahabharata is that Rama is worshipped mostly by Brahmins.

We thus see that the two leading myths of India would provide studies of far-reaching importance as regards the different shapes Aryanism took in different regions, how the different patterns affected cultural histories of different regions in India, and how the stories were carried outside India.

A slightly more modern myth which mostly affects the regions south of the Narmada, and which very probably has it's origin in Karnatak, also usefully illustrates the importance of the right type of analysis of a myth as regards communications and folk-migrations. This myth is the story of a king called Sriyala and his queen Canguna. The story is well-known in Maharashtra through a late Saivaite book called *Sivalilamrita* and this is also known in Karnataka as the story of *Sriyal Shetti*.[3] The same story with greater importance given to Canguna occurs amongst the Gonds of Mahakosala and is recorded by Verrier Elwin. One does not know whether the story reaches further north or south. Apparently the story mixes something historical with some story which was known in the folk-lore of perhaps northern Karnatak and southern Maharashtra. One would also like to know the earlier references to Sriyala and to a woman or half-goddess known as Canguna. One would, again, like to know how the story, or at least the two names Sriyala and Canguna, have become a part of the culture of the Gonds. Was it a common heritage shared by the Gonds and the people of Karnatak before the Gonds started their north-eastward march? If these questions could be solved we could get much needed information about the northern push of the Gonds which has driven a wedge between the Korkus to the west and Saoras to the east and has pushed the Mundari-speaking people eastward.

Some folk-songs and folk-tales are found almost in verbatim translations between neighbouring provinces. This is the case with Maharashtra and Gujarat, and also with Maharashtra and Karnatak. What kind of cultural communications this represents has not been studied yet. There are also folk-stories based on a particular type of social structure. They change from place to place within one region, and from region to region showing different emphasis and different culminations of the same general situation. Whether these differences are due to the personal whims of story-tellers or represent modifications in response to a different social climate, needs to be studied. We tend to be swayed by passions like Aryanism and Dravidianism and, thereby, tend to ignore the other non-literate partners of our culture. But we might be able to understand different elements in our culture only when we study myths, folk-lores and folk-songs in their spatial and chronological context. The foremost requisite of such studies is, of course, a meticulous collection of all versions and their critical arrangement. In short, not only for the Ramayana and the Mahabharata but also for all our myths and folk-lores we need critical editions.

A slightly different view of the vast material available to us will be indicated below. We have didactic literature about family patterns, about the right type of behaviour prescribed for different family members, about the laws of inheritance and of succession. We have, however, a vast literature which could provide us with case studies, but which has been neglected till now. This is about the significant story-literature in Sanskrit, Pali and the Ardhamagadhi languages.[4] But this material has not been exploited thoroughly by our anthropologists until now.

The more esoteric literature represented by the Vedas, Aranyakas, Upanisads, Vyakarana and Mimamsa-sutras is also of immense use to an Indian anthropologist who may be able to interpret parts of this literature better than an outsider could do, specially because as Indians we inherit the world of ideas and imagery of these very 'Ancient' people. In the same way Ancient Tamil literature embodying these ideas and beliefs of people is of prime importance to anthropologists. The languages might be 'dead', but the thought embodied in them lives within us, as surely as the chromosomes and genes of all our 'very-mixed' ancestry live within, as physical realities.

NOTES

1. *Pancatantra* I (4th Tantra, Katha, IV, sloka 43): edited with notes by F. Kielhorn. Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. IV. Bombay Government Central Book Depot. Sixth Edition. 1896.
2. T. Paramashiva Iyer, *Ramayana and Lanka*—Bangalore Press, 1940. My reading of the Ramayana also inclines me to agree with these scholars.
3. I am told by Prof. Bendre, the Kannada poet, that Sriyal does have a historic background and that such a man was known as a high officer of the Early Chalukyas.
4. A colleague of mine is now studying this literature and recording the type of family in the stories where we have enough data to determine such a type. We have accumulated a very large amount of data for the present day. We want to compare it with the picture as it emerges with this literature, and we want to see if, and how, the nature of family has changed from those days to now.

   I have already used some material in my book *Kinship Organization in India* (3rd edition) and recently in a paper entitled 'Kinship pattern, Usages and Behaviour' which is under publication.

PLASTIC ARTS

M. K. DHAVALIKAR

The Plastic Arts

THE importance of the plastic arts as a source of contemporary life has not so far been properly appreciated, atleast in India[1] which has a tremendous wealth of art from the past. To illustrate, the most important from this point of view is the art of the Sunga, Satavahana, Kushan and the Vakataka-Gupta periods which depict the stories of the past lives of Buddha. In a way, the *Jataka* and the *Avadana* stories in innumerable stone-reliefs and wall-paintings depict several secular scenes from the daily life of those times. Needless to add, it is also necessary to corroborate this evidence of art from archæological and literary sources especially the accounts of foreign travellers who visited India. This corroboration is essential since artists were often guided by convention. For instance, the crown of Indra has become stereotyped because in early Indian art, he always wears a peculiar cylindrical head-dress which distinguishes Indra from the other gods and hence can be easily identified.[2] Nevertheless, the following account will indicate how the plastic arts may be taken as a reliable source for the reconstruction of life in Ancient India. This discussion restricts itself to the period beginning from the Sungas up to the Guptas, since it is only to emphasize the importance of the plastic arts in a Sourcebook.

Costume

There is no evidence for any remains of a piece of Ancient Indian costume, most probably because of the tropical climate. But we often come across references to garments in ancient literature, and our other important sources are the graphic illustrations of the arts. The latter evidence shows that in the Sunga and the Satavahana period costumes of the common male consisted of a short *dhoti* (*ardhoruka*)[3], while men of means wore a long *dhoti* reaching the knee and also wore an *uttariya*. They also collected the loose ends of the *dhoti* at the front in pleats and tucked it in, but there was no *kachchha* at the back. Women also donned a similar dress. Men sometimes wore a half-sleeved tunic which can be identified as the *kurpasaka.* It was probably introduced by the Sakas in India, for we find Scythian soldiers wearing it.[4]

The Kushans introduced a number of stitched garments, their kings are always shown wearing a long coat and trousers. This can be distinctly seen in the Kushan art of Mathura, and also on their coins. The coat is long and loose and is of the *China-cholaka* variety. Its very appellation shows its Chinese origin. Its Medieval version *choga* of the Mughal period continues even today in North India where it is known as *chola.* The trousers are of the *svasthana* type. Their origin may be ultimately traced to Central Asia.[5] The trousers have been referred to as *somstamni* in Central Asian documents from Niya.[6]

Several new fashions came into vogue in the Vakataka-Gupta period. The lower garment is now worn in such a way that the long flowing tufts are left dangling between the legs. Even the *uttariya* becomes inordinately long and is seen fluttering at the back, as is evident from innumerable illustrations in Gupta art, and the Ajanta paintings.[7] We can also precisely state that this fashion comes into vogue during the time of Kumaragupta I for it is found on his 'peacock-feeding' type coins. This mode of wearing the garment is also reflected in the literature, such as in the Vikrama and Urbasi story.[8]

Gupta kings are shown wearing a close fitting coat and trousers (*svasthana*) only when they are on a hunting expedition. The coat can be identified as the *varbana* which is supposed to have been introduced by the Sassanians.[9] Another garment of the Sassanians which we sometimes see in Gupta art is a long loose robe (*achchhadanaka*) which was secured at the front by means of a round clasp.

In the Gupta period, we find women wearing bodices which were either sleeveless or half or full-sleeved, and the commonest was the breast cloth (*stanamsuka*). But a new garment comes into vogue in this period, usually a sort of 'plastron', which covers not only the breasts but the abdomen as well. It can be identified as the *udaramsuka* which is referred to by Hemchandra. It has been explained by the commentator as *udara-stanapi-dhayakam vastram,* that is, the garment covering the breasts and abdomen as well.[10]

We cannot say anything about the colour of the textiles from stone reliefs. But the Ajanata murals are of great help so far as textiles are concerned. In the earlier group of Ajanta paintings we find people mostly wearing white garments. Ancient literature also frequently refers to white clothes, and this is supported by the testimony of foreign travellers. Arrian found Indian cotton to be of a whiter colour than any cotton found elsewhere. But he further observes that it is the darkness of the Indians that makes their apparel look so much whiter.[11] Strabo also notes that Indians wear white clothing.[12] But a revolutionary change takes place in the textile patterns of the Gupta period. In the later group of Ajanta paintings a number of men and women are shown wearing striped garments of variegated colours. This cloth has been referred to by Bana as the *indra-ayudh-ambara* or the *indra-jala-varna-amsuka,* comparing it thereby with the kaleidoscopic colours of a rainbow.[13]

Coiffure

Early Indian art is the only source for the study of the changing fashions of the coiffure. In the Sunga and the Satavahana period women do not, apparently, appear to care much for their hair since they are shown wearing long complicated head-dresses which cover their coiffure completely. But by the beginning of the Christian era we find some new styles coming into vogue. Women begin to dress their hair in a single braid (*eka-veni*) which is sometimes of a complete character (*praveni*). Some women are seen to twist hair into coils out of which is kept projecting a fan-shaped bunch of hair. The classical poets compare it with the peacock plume (*barha-bhara-kesa*).[14] A very important style also is to be seen in the Kushan and Amaravati art. It consists of parting the hair in the middle and combing the whole mass of hair into a roundish bun at the back. This becomes the raging fashion during the Gupta period. It can be identified as the *dhammilla* hair-do which, according to V. S. Agrawala, is derived from *Tamila-damila-dhammilla,* implying thereby that the origin of this hair-do is in South India.[15] This style was also quite popular in the Græco-Roman world[16] and it is, therefore, likely that it first came into vogue in the South which had flourishing trade with the Roman Empire. But along with the style, it seems that the forehead band was also imported. The ancient Greek ladies wore such forehead bands of leather but the Indian ladies, however, might have preferred bands of silk (*vala-pasya*) or of thin sheets of metal (*patra-pasya*).[17] The bun was also secured in a net (*jalika*) which was sometimes ornamented with pearls (*mukta-jala*).

In the early period men wore turbans. The turban was worn round the head in tiers together with the roundish mass of hair which is often seen projecting in early Indian art. It is rare to find men dressing their hair properly. A *naga* king in an early Ajanta panel is shown with his hair dressed into a spherical mass[18] and the same style is also noticed at Sanchi.[19] But the former has ornamented the knot with jewels. Kalidasa also refers to such jewel strips for hair.[20] In the Kushan period, a distinct change takes place, the spherical protrusion in the turban is replaced by what looks like a metallic plaque. But very soon we find that men discard the turban and begin to take proper care of their hair. In the Gupta period men, particularly from the higher strata of society, begin to wear their hair long and keep them rolling on the nape. The numismatic evidence shows that this fashion comes into vogue during the time of Chandragupta II.[21] The style can be identified as of the *simha-kesara* variety[22] which no doubt adds dignity to the personality.

Men also wear forehead bands during the Gupta period. Bana tells us that such bands (*karpati*) were awarded to the most faithful royal employees who had won special favours of their master by virtue of their devotion to duty.[23]

Jewellery

Jewellery pieces are also of rare occurrence at excavated sites, and the solitary exception is that of Taxila. But references to personal ornaments in ancient literature are far too many to detail. However, they do not convey to us any precise idea of their shape and design. We have, therefore, to depend solely on the illustrations of jewellery in early Indian art. The ornaments of the early period were heavy and cumbersome. Men and women wore a number of bangles and anklets which were quite heavy. Ear ornaments were either large squarish (*phalaka-kundalas*) or crescentic (*mrista-kundalas*) or rarely spiral (*sarpa-kundalas*). Necklaces were also heavy, composed of a number of strings of beads with slab-like spacers. These are the *phalaka-haras* referred to by Kautilya; they were of three varieties, viz., *dvi, tri* and *pancha-phalaka haras*.[24] All the three varieties are represented in early Indian art, especially in the earlier group of Ajanta paintings.[25] But these heavy ornaments totally disappear in the Vakataka-Gupta period when women wore delicate but sparse jewellery. The ear ornament is usually a large disc (*tatanka-chakra*). Such discs of polished stone have been found in excavations, and one specimen from Prabhas Patan shows that it was covered with gold foil bearing a repousse pattern.[26] The heavy *haras* are later replaced by the dainty *ekavali,* a single-stringed pearl necklace, with a large lapis lazuli bead (*nayaka-mani*) in the centre. The torque (*graiveyaka*) was brought into vogue by the Kushans but it does not appear to have become popular. The girdle (*mekhala*) worn by ladies sculptured in the Kushan art is a broad belt, probably jewelled. In the Gupta period, the delicate jewelled *mekhalas* become popular. Similarly, heavy bangles are replaced by gem-set bracelets. Heavy anklets also disappear and a new variety of a thin, double-curve anklet of the *hamsaka* variety comes into vogue.

The tiara which came into vogue in the beginning centuries of the Christian era developes into an elaborately jewelled *kirita-mukuta* in the Gupta period. However, the tiara (*ardha-mukuta*) continues to be preferred by women. Bharata prescribes that lesser chiefs should use such *ardha-mukutas*.[27]

A very important distinguishing feature of an Indian woman even today is the forehead mark (*tilaka*). This one notices even in the earliest Sunga sculpture, and it continues later as well. It has been supposed so far that the *tilaka* was a *sine qua non* of a married woman whose husband was living. The literary and epigraphical evidence found until now indicates its beginning to about the *8th-9th* century.[28] But the forehead mark was applied more for setting off the charms of a young lady, as the writer has shown elsewhere, and this custom was in vogue as early as in the Gupta period, for Kalidasa alludes to it in his *Raghuvamsa.*[29] It, however, took a long time to spread to different parts of the country, so that by the *8th* century it appears to have become fairly common.

Vessels

Among the several pre-requisites of a civilized man—the *nagaraka* of Vatsyayana—we find the mention of a spittoon. Although references to the spittoon (*patadgraha*) are found in literature, nothing was known about its exact shape. Archæological excavations have also not yielded, so far, any vessel which can be identified as a spittoon. But it is only in the later group of paintings at Ajanta that we come across the illustrations of spittoons.[30] Vatsyayana tells us that a spittoon should be kept in the bedroom of the *nagaraka* at a convenient place near the bed where it can catch the spittle thrown at night by the *nagaraka* after chewing *tambula* at intervals. In several scenes at Ajanta we see a spittoon near the seat or the bed of a prince. Similarly, the spittoon is also shown on several Gupta coins. The art evidence shows that betel-chewing had become extremely common during the Vakataka-Gupta period. Thus, it is the only evidence of art which confirms the literary evidence that sheds light on an important facet of our Ancient civilization.

Another interesting instance is that of a water jar. Buddhist monks are said to have been carrying a water jar (*kundika*) and even Yuan Chwang had carried one in the course of his pilgrimage in India. It was carried on the back, suspended by strings as described in the *Silappadikaram*[31] or was fixed in a wooden tripod (*darava-phalaka-traya-trikona* or *triyasti nivista kamandaluna*)[32] as Bana tells us. Illustrations of these varieties are found in the later group of Ajanta paintings which give us the exact idea of the *kundika* suspended by strings and fixed in a wooden tripod.

In some of the Ajanta murals we find female attendants helping a princess in her toilet. These attendants (*prasadhika*) are shown carrying jewel boxes (*abharana samudgakas*) and velvet bags (*potalakani*) containing *parijataka,* a scented powder and *sindura-patras.*

Furniture

The climate of the country being what it is, no item of wooden furniture has survived. But the plastic arts show the changes in the design of furniture pieces. The royal throne is the *simhasana,* the seat *par excellence.* The Kushan King Wima Kadphises is shown to be sitting on it.[34] But the fragments of a stone *simhasana* of the Mauryan period have been found at Patna. This type of throne, according to Stuart Piggott, was already in vogue in Achaemenid Iran whence it came to India.[35] It first appears on the Amaravati reliefs but becomes common later at Ajanta, in the Vakataka-Gupta period. This type of throne can easily be identified as the *mriga-simhasana*.

Another variety of a huge seat consists of side arms, but it is without a back. This is represented in Sunga terracottas as also in the earlier group of Ajanta paintings.[36] These kind of seats were extremely common in the classical world from a very early period and it is, therefore, possible that this particular item was introduced into India by the Greeks. It, however, is soon replaced by the typical Indian *mancha* seat obviously because the former was not convenient for sitting in the typical Indian cross-legged posture. The *mancha* seat is modest and consists of a squarish top mounted on four moulded legs. It is quite common in the Vakataka-Gupta paintings at Ajanta and is also commonly seen on Gupta coins.

Foot-stools (*pada-pitha*) was a necessary adjunct of the royal seat. Several varieties of foot-stools are depicted in early Indian art. Some of them are lavishly ornamented with jewels. Yuan Chwang tells us that Harsha's foot-stool was adorned with precious stones.[37] And, it is probably to these jewels that the poet's fancy alludes to in a Maitraka grant describing Kharagraha's foot-stool as "being covered with the lustre of a hundred kings".[38]

Tables and stands are rarely seen in Indian art. But an interesting variety of tables is shown in the later paintings at Ajanta. It consists of a rectangular top, mounted on two sets of legs, each pivoting medially on the other.[39] But the earliest representation of the folding type table is to be found on a Gandharan relief.[40] These tables were extremely common in the Roman world,[41] and may have come into india, along with the other merchandise, from the Roman world.

Small tables and stands are of rare occurrence in early Indian art. They usually have curved legs (*vanka-pada*) resembling tiger claws (*kulira-pada*). Such pieces of furniture are supposed to be an innovation of the Persians and these items of Persian luxury were introduced to the Romans by the Asiatic armies in the later Republican times.[42] The smaller tables were used as dining tables (*bhojana-phalaka*). This is confirmed not only by the evidence from the Ajanta murals but also from the eye witness accounts of Megasthenes.[43]

Musical Instruments

Various musical instruments which are frequently referred to in literature are represented in the plastic arts as well. The varieties of drums—*ankya, alingya* and *urdhvaka*—are commonly to be found in early Indian art. But more interesting are the representations of *vina* which, in the Sunga and the Satavahana period, is a bow-shaped instrument with usually seven strings (*sapta-tantri-vina*). It is always played with a plecturn (*kona*). But in the early centuries of the Christian era a new type of *vina* is introduced. It is a guitar-shaped instrument which probably originated in Central Asia. It is found in Gandharan art, as also on the Amaravati reliefs. But it does not seem to have become common even in the Gupta period, for on the *vina-vadana* coin type of Samudragupta we see the king playing on a bow-shaped *vina*. At Ajanta we find it gradually being replaced by the guitar-shaped *vina* which can be identified as the *kachchhapi vina*.

There are two varieties of stringed instruments in the later group of Ajanta paintings which have no parallel within the country and can be, therefore, taken to be unique. One is a triangular harp which consists of a trigonal frame over which strings are stretched. A very similar instrument is depicted on a toilet tray from Taxila[44] and also on the famous Sassanian bas-reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan (590-628 A.D.).[45] It is not unlikely that the *svara-mandala* of our own times is derived from the triangular harp.

It is said that the bow was not known before *8th-9th* century A.D., whereas the Ajanta illustration is datable to the *5th* century.[46] It is noteworthy that, traditionally, the invention of the bow is attributed to the Hindus for it is said to have been invented by Ravana, and the earliest instrument played with a bow is said to be the *Ravanastra* which is perhaps the same as the *Ravana-hasta-vina* of the *Bharatakosa*. This still survives in Rajasthan where it is called the *Ravanahatta*, and is played with the help of a bow. A similar instrument called *vinavah* is played even today in Ceylon. We do not know whether *Ravanastra* is the precursor of the modern *Sarangi* which is supposed to be the invention of Amir Khusro. It is possible that it was derived from the ancient *saranga-vina* which may not be very different from the *Ravanastra*.

Arms and Armour

The three different types of swords mentioned by Kautilya, viz., *nitrimsa, mandalagra* and *asiyasti* are also illustrated in early Indian art, along with shields like the *kavata* (oblong), the *hasti-karna* (triangular), etc. But the devil-faced type shield has no parallel either in art or literature. It was probably derived from the Gorgoneion shield of the Greeks which was particularly used by Athena, and its representations are found on the coins of Demetrios and Menander in India.

The earliest representations of the conjoint bow are found on the coins which were introduced at about the beginning of the Christian era by the Sakas. But this type becomes common in the Gupta period when, as the numismatic evidence shows, it was generally preferred by Gupta emperors. The *Agni Purana* (XX, 12) also refers to such composite bows which may be made of wood and bone conjointly, and the middle part being joined with a spare piece of wood.

NOTES

1. Arnold Hauser, *Social History of Art,* 2 vols. (London, 1951), convincingly shows how art reflects contemporary life.
2. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography—Indra". *Eastern Art,* I (1928), 33 ff.
3. *Urvor-ardh-achchhadakam amsumam ardhorukam,* Amarakosa, Ed., by H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai, (Poona, 1941), p. 115.
4. B. M. Barua, *Barhut,* Pt. III, (Calcutta, 1937), Pl. LXII, p. 71.
5. McGovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia,* p. 2.
6. R. C. Agrawala, "A Study of Textiles and Garments as depicted in the Kharoshti documents from Chinese Turkestan," *BV,* XIV (1953), p. 89.
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8. *Vikramorvasiyam,* IV, p. 28.
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41. An example from Pompeii, 1st. century A.D., in Charles Singer and others, *A History of Technology*, II, (Oxford, 1954), p. 224, Fig. 199.
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KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI

Dress and Ornaments

In India the name of a deity of the Mahayana Buddhist Pantheon called Parnasavari probably retains the memory of a primitive stage when people used to clad themselves with leaves. The Ramayana also reveals the tradition of donning the bark of a tree, when the epic describes how the princely party of Ayodhya were dressed with tree bark on their journey for exile. But the information available in the Rigveda and the archæological material known from the Harappan sites also provides the picture of a thoroughly advanced stage i.e., as far as the dress, the material, the technique of production and the way of wearing is concerned.

Rig Vedic and Harappan Evidence

There is a fair amount of information revealed in the Rigveda about dress and costume which was worn by the people. Although occasionally there is mention of animal skin used as a piece of dress for the people yet the Rigveda clearly reveals that the technique of weaving was in quite an advanced state of development, as the presence of the terms like the warp and the woof would indicate. The material which was widely used for spinning the thread may have been sheep wool but the hair of some other animals might also have been in use. Woven material was widely used, but the art of stitching and tailoring costumes into the required shape was not probably known or favoured by people of the Vedic tradition. There are reasons to believe that Vedic people also knew the art of dyeing and the use of coloured pieces of cloth. Possibly, the dress of the Vedic people was quite simple, consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth worn round the loin, while another such piece was worn as a wrap.

In the Rigveda, however, ornaments of quite a wide variety, made of gold, silver, precious stones of various kinds, conch shell and pearls are known. But there is no mention of ornaments made of such baser metals like copper and iron, or even of clay. The names of the variety of ornaments mentioned in the Rigveda includes *Opasa, Kumbha* and *Kurira* (in all probability ornaments of the head), *Karnasobhana, Pravarata* and *Vrshakhada* (ornaments of the ear), *Sraj, Nishka, Mani* and *Mána* (ornaments worn from the neck), and *Khadi* (probably a ring that could be worn around the arm as a bracelet, armlet or also as an anklet).[1]

Archæological evidence indicates that the Harappans wore woven dresses made from most probably indigenous cotton. India thus may be considered as the original home of cotton which was mentioned by many Western visitors as the "wool of the tree". The evidence for the dress of the Harappans comes chiefly from the human figurines made in stone, clay and steatite. For example, the male dress is well-known from the limestone statuette with a trefoil motif which shows a shawl covering the left shoulder and going under the right arm leaving the right shoulder bare.[2] Female garments probably consisted of a long piece of cloth, of narrow width, which was worn around the waist to reach the knee or a little below. The upper part of the female body was kept bare but for the number of garlands, most probably made of beads.[3]

Personal ornaments worn by the Harappans may be studied in greater detail because of the existence of well-preserved remains. In order to understand the fashion of wearing ornaments mention may be made of the male figures in limestone and the bronze dancing girl which were found from Mohenjodaro, and the numerous clay figures recovered from different sites.[4]

The Harappans used metals like gold, silver and copper and alloys such as bronze, precious and semi-precious stones like jade, agate, steatite, lapis lazuli, quartz, turquoise and such other material as shell, ivory, terracotta and faience, etc. Men and women of Harappa probably used to wear hairpins and combs and a type of fillet adorned the head of the male, whereas the ears were adorned with rings or studs, the neck with strings of beads, and for adorning the arms and ankles strings of beads or rings made of various materials were worn.

There have been a large number of actual ornaments found in different stages of preservation at Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Lothal, Kalibangan, Rupar and other sites. A large number of these ornaments were found deposited in the form of hoards, three from Mohenjodaro and two from Harappa.[5]

Post-Vedic Traditions

The main tradition of dress and ornaments as is seen in the Rigveda continued later on. This is found in the subsequent literary products like the later Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads, Sutras, Mahabharata, in the grammar of Panini, the Mahabhasya of Patanjali, the Arthasastra of Kautilya, Ramayana, the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana and the early Pali and Buddhist texts. Foreign authors like Pliny, Megasthenes, Arrian, Ptolemy and the well-known "*Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*" bears out numerous references to the types of dress and ornaments used by the people of India. While these literary sources provide some extremely interesting information regarding the traditions connected with dress and ornaments, the monuments of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya, Khandagiri and Udayagiri, Bhaja, etc., retain extensive visual evidence of the types of dress and ornaments worn from about the 2*nd* century B.C. to about the beginning of the Christian era. The evidence of these monuments has been reproduced extensively in publications on an elaborate scale.[6] For example, the stupa railings of Bharhut depict a variety of characters which, however, show dresses and ornaments that rarely reveal any diversity. The male dress consisted of a turban with a top-knot arranged by means of a long piece of material, a piece of fine cloth in several folds held either over the two shoulders (Ganagita Yaksha) or covering the left shoulder and tucked under the right arm leaving the right shoulder bare (Yaksha Kuvera); a loin cloth worn with a big knot in the front with a long tassel hanging loosely, while the ends of the cloth come slightly lower than the knee. But, in one case, a panel showing the scene of the *Aramadushaka Jataka,* the gardener is found attired in a dress which appears to be unique, probably indicating a foreigner. On his upper body he wears a stitched shirt very closely akin to the *kurta* (the length of which comes quite low), while there is a *uttariya* in the usual fashion over his shoulders, while his lower garment is something like a pyjama.

The Bharhut female wears no turban but has quite a variety of hair styles in plaits. Her upper body is almost universally bare while she wears a cloth round her waist beneath the navel in a way closely akin to the male, with the only difference that her waist-band is held loose. Some figures however have the *uttariya* as well. Both men and women wear ornaments. The ear ornaments are heavy with a spiral tube in the middle, having a flagged end on one side and cubical piece attached to the other; neck ornaments include a highly decorated crescent-shaped breast plate and several strings made of beads. But there is a clear difference in the shape of the bracelets worn by men and by the women; the men wear bracelets made of either beads or a row of rings with broad patches, while the women wear spiral rings both as bracelets as well as anklets.

At a later stage, on the great stupa of Sanchi, the *uttariya* becomes longer, coming down from above the shoulder to over the upper part of the arm (Yaksha figure—West Gate). Sometimes the *uttariya* was tied around the waist, as is common even now (Figure on the East Gate Torana pillar). The dhoti continues in almost the same way as it is first met at Bharhut. But a most remarkable evidence of diversity in dress habit may be seen in a panel showing a group of people playing various musical instruments, assembled to pay their respect to the stupa (North Gate, West pillar, inside top panel). These show that both the head bands are made of a broad ribbon like object as well as a sort of cap with a conical top. Almost all have a thick cloth gathered upon their back, with the ends tucked up in front. The lower garment is a kilt-like dress tightly bound around the waist with a thick cord, reaching below the knee; legs are covered with guards.

The women depicted on the Sanchi stupa have the upper part of their body bare except for ornaments, while the dhoti worn by them appears to be more diaphenous than of those found at Bharhut. It is probable that in some cases the end of the dhoti worn by the women is not tucked up behind and in between the legs by way of a *Kachchha*, but it is hung loosely with the collected ends secured on the left side providing a bend in front. Here, one may notice a sex difference in the way of wearing the dhoti (North Gate, West pillar, third panel). The early frescoes of Ajanta also show a variety of dresses which consist of long stitched garments both for the upper and lower parts. This panel probably represents people of foreign stock.

The ornaments for men include heavy ear ones made of two cubicle pieces held on either sides of the ear-lobe and attached to each other by a stem, a necklace made of four or more strands of beads secured by square clasps, and heavy bracelets made in the form of broad rimmed metal rings with beads of big size. Different types of ornaments may also be traced on the figures which are characterised by some distinctive identifications, such as the spear bearing guard who wears floral and leaf-shaped pendants on a necklace.[7]

The women at Sanchi appear to have developed a style in the wearing of ornaments, which speaks of a highly developed refinement in taste. For instance, the necklace consists of one elegant string of globular beads reaching the space between the open breasts, the waist band is made up of three or more strings consisting of globular beads, and the flexible rings of thin spiral tubes which are worn as bracelets and anklets. The figures evidenced at Bodhgaya, Udayagiri and Bhaja, etc., also provide interesting variants in dress and ornaments, just prior to the commencement of the Christian era.

Beginning of the Christian Era

Culturally, the first three centuries of the Christian era are full of many interesting developments. Migrations from Iran and Central Asia had been always taking place. But from the third century B.C. onwards, people from Greece and Asia Minor had increasingly made their inroads. By the 1*st* century A.D. Gandharan art shows Græco-Roman influence in the local growth of art. Its echoes were soon to be heard at Mathura and remote Amaravati, the two other art centres which had flourished during the period. Archæological sources pertaining to these three centres are available in the caves of Western India, on the spot or in museums in Afghanistan, West Pakistan, Mathura, Nagarjuni-Konda, Madras and other places. Literary sources supplement this information, such as in the Pali Jatakas and other post-Christian texts, as well as in the two celebrated Tamil texts, Silappadikaram and the Maninekhalai (even though these are placed by some scholars at a much later date). The following are brief examples of this period:

(a) The typical dress seen at Mathura is on the Buddha who is wearing a piece of cloth which covers his upper body and both the shoulders (sometimes one shoulder bare), holding the end of it with the left hand. The lower garment worn by Buddha bears a close resemblance to the dhoti worn by the male figures at Bharhut and Sanchi or, more closely the Yaksha figure of Patna. At Mathura this dress appears chronologically later than the Buddha figure at Gandhara which has a much heavier upper garment. Buddhist texts also indicate that this garment of Buddha was formed out of three pieces of cloth.

(b) The dress of the lay people at Gandhara consisted of the dhoti, an *uttariya* with generally a turban and a pair of sandals. Women wore a sari which was worn round the body.[8]

(c) At Mathura, the male and female dresses show considerable shift from the earlier days. The males, by and large, had evolved a style of wearing the dhoti tucked up at the back with a belt-like arrangement round the waist, while a tuft of cloth was gathered and held on the right side and another end was gathered after forming a semi-circular loop on the left. At Karle, (Chaitya figures) there occurs a broad belt-like arrangement with a knot formed of twisted cloth with a long tassel which almost reaches the ground between the two legs while a loose end of it is held in the left hand. The male dhoti at Amaravati is diaphenous and is held with the help of a tight rope-like belt round the waist while the end of the cloth is secured in a semi-circular loop.

The female at Mathura wears her dress with great ease round her hips, the wide piece of cloth reaching the ankles. The loose end, unlike the males, is bound in a fluffy knot on the left side with the ends hanging loosely.[9]

(d) It is probable that both the males and females were evolving distinctive styles and patterns of ornaments which had by now become somewhat different. Some foreign elements may be noticed in the hair-dos, the metal belts, and the hair-knot. The light broad rimmed rings worn as bracelets often cover the whole of the forearms. In Western India both men and women wear earrings and bracelets, while women indulge only in *mekhalas* of many strands and a pair of thick anklets. The *chhannavira*, a peculiar ornament made of two strings held over two shoulders across the back, and secured by a clasp at the front, is noticed for the first time on the figure of *Chulokoka* devata at Bharhut, and it is also worn by the wife of a donor at Karle.[10]

The Gupta Tradition, 320 A.D.-700 A.D.

The Gupta tradition in dress and ornaments is of an extremely rich nature and variety. The range of archæological material for this period can be studied on the spot in different parts of India, particularly at Mathura, Central India, Ajanta, Bagh and at other sites. The museums at Banaras, Lucknow, Mathura, Calcutta, Madhya Pradesh are also extremely rich in material from the Gupta period. For the reproductions of this material there are numerous publications, some of which are rich beyond imagination—like the volumes on Ajanta published by the "Nizam's" Government. The archæological material of this period may also be liberally supplemented by literary sources on a very extensive scale; namely, the dramas and poems of Kalidasa, the Vrihatsamhita of Varahamihira, the Puranas (particularly the Vishnudharmottara), Mrichchhakatika, a text on architecture, etc.

The archæological material of this period tends to reveal more of the 'idealistic' material rather than representations from day to day life. Most of the stone sculptures from the time of the Gupta period tend to represent the iconic forms of deities, of the Brahmanical Buddhist and Jaina tradition. But in the paintings of Ajanta, where there are representations of deities as well as ordinary mortals featured in the Jatakas stories, probably the true record of the style may be discerned. For example, there are the kings and princes with their attendants, there are merchants, sailors, soldiers, musicians, palace guards and ordinary people all of whom show different body colours, facial features and dresses. The distinctive texture of the cloth worn probably indicates the use of both cotton and silk, which was either dyed or printed with colours and designs of various kinds. The style in wearing the dress also offers quite some variety, such as the long-sleeved blouse of black cotton printed with white stars, or the designed sari-like dress of the dancing girl in Cave No. 1 (c. 600 A.D.); these mark a distinctiveness in which some foreign affiliations are at once discerned.

In the case of ornaments, the Gupta tradition also grew to be full of distinctiveness. Men begin to wear beaded and metal strips as head ornaments, elegant earrings, a single string of graded globular beads, a pair of armlets sometimes in the form of three bent rings with a *makara* head-end, and a pair of simple bangles. Female figures display ornaments of a great variety, which speaks of a highly evolved art of jewellery. For instance, the head ornaments vary from a three-band tiara to an elaborate crown, worn by the well-known black princess.[11]

As a source for the study and reconstruction of the history of dress and ornaments, the paintings at Ajanta provide an endless panorama hardly to be exhausted by any ordinary endeavour. Likewise, the literature of the period is also full of inexhaustible references to ornaments and an unlimited variety of items.[12] By this time, the art of dramaturgy also required ornaments of various kinds for the actors and actresses. Banabhatta's *Kadambari* and *Harshacharita* have numerous references to ornament of a wide variety, and the lexicon of *Amarasimha* details a list of ornaments which were in use.

The Later Periods

The next phase in the cultural history of the country was marked by the rise of regional powers almost equally matched in strength, and there was a lack of any central authority which could maintain a co-ordinating contact between the far-flung regions of the country. The regional characteristics in Indian culture were not altogether unknown during the earlier days. But by about the beginning of the *8th* century efforts on the part of the different regions to evolve cultural autonomy in a more pronounced way became evident. Under this development, the fashions in dress and ornaments were also expressed in a quite distinctive manner. The sources of dress and ornaments of this period are to be found in the vast literature, in the archæological monuments or from the material collected by the numerous museums of the country. In the field of literature, Kavya texts and dramas produced during the period offer some very fruitful information. For instance, in the field of drama mention may be made of Visakhadatta's *Mudrarakshasa,* Bhinaka's *Pratibha Chankya,* Saktibhadra's *Chaudamani* bearing the name of an ornament, Hastimallal's *Vikranta Kaurava Subhadraharana* and *Maithilakavya,* four plays by Rajsekhara, *Chandakausika* by Kshemisvara of Kashmir, etc.; while in the field of Kavya mention may be made of *Harivijaya* by Ratnakara of Kashmir, *Ramcharita* of Sandhyakara Naudi, *Gitagovinda* of Jaydeva, *Pavandyata* of Doyi, *Parshabhadaya* and *Adipurana* of Jinasena and *Nisithachuim,* a Jain text of about 11*th* century A.D. The well-known *Kathasaritsagara* belonging to this age, also contains a rich mine of information about dress and ornaments worn during the period.

In the field of archæology, however, one has to be critical in using the material available because almost all of the stone figures of this period represent idealised images of the different pantheon. In the case of dress and ornaments shown upon these figures, one may not always be sure that they are authentic representations of the styles existing during the contemporary age; these appear to have been idealised adaptations of the ornaments of bygone traditions. However, the large variety of dress and ornaments and the way in which this dress was worn, as is shown upon numerous non-divine figures found on the walls of the large number of temples, may probably be safely utilised in order to write an account of the dress and ornaments of this period. It has an unlimited range of sculpture which can be studied in a very elaborate way, in order to get a very clear and intimate view of the dress and ornaments which were used in India during the Medieval period.*

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* During the discussions the following points were made:

(i) Indianization of foreign dresses may also be examined.

(ii) Rock-paintings and coins should also be taken into account.

(iii) Terracotas from Arikamedu attest to the 2*nd* century dating of the Sari, which the Ajanta paintings do not.

(iv) The knickers and musical instruments seen at Sanchi are foreign in origin.

NOTES

1. Rigveda x. 8.58, also i. 1736; viii 145 ix II: *Karnasobhana*-Rg. VIII. 7.3.
2. Marshall, *J. I. C.*, p. 356.
3. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1925-26, pl. x 17, 6.
4. Marshall, *op. cit.* fig. 6; Pl. xcix fig. 6. etc.
5. Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 527, 522, 527-pls.-Exl. czii, CXLVIII, CXLII, CLI; *A.S.I.A.R.*-1928-29, p. 79, Vats-*Excavation at Harappa*, etc.
6. Cunningham, A. *The Stupa of Bharhut*, Vols. 1-3; Marshall, J. *Sanchi*, Vols. I and II. Secondary sources, McGrindle—*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Pliny *Naturalid Historia*, Scheff-*Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*, Ptolemy—*Geography* (tr), etc.
7. Marshall, *op. cit.*, *Sanchi and its Remains*—pl. XV, fig. 13.
8. *Panchika* and *Harik*, Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*—Vol. II, Pl. 64b.
9. *cf. Nagaraja Mathura, ibid*, pl. 77.
10. *cf. Chulckoka—Bharhut, ibid*, pl. 336 and pl. 82.
11. Yazdani, *Paintings at Ajanta*, pl. xiii.
12. Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, *Kumarasambhava*, Bharata's *Natyasastra*, Vatsayayan's *Kamasutra*, Amarasinha's *Amarakosha*, Varahamihira's *Vahatsamhita*, Bana's *Kadambari* and *Harshacharita*, etc.

OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES AND INDIA

SACHCHIDANAND SAHAI

Indian Diplomatic Theories in Ancient Cambodia (600-1300 A.D.)

THE foundation of an Indianised kingdom by Kaundinya in ancient Cambodia in *cir.* first century A.D. is an event of great importance, since it determined the course of history in the Indo-Chinese peninsula until the end of the thirteenth century. This event marks the beginning of the early period of Khmer history (first century A.D. to the middle of the sixth century) when Cambodia was the centre of a 'Hinduized' kingdom which controlled a large part of the peninsula, and which the Chinese called *Funan*. In the middle of the sixth century, the vassal kingdom of *Tchen-la*, situated in the northern part of *Funan*, declared itself independent of the parent state. The rulers of this kingdom (Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman, Isanavarman, etc.) brought under their control the territories of the empire of *Funan*. The eighth century witnessed the disintegration of the kingdom of *Tchen-la* and it also marks the end of the pre-Angkorian period of the history of Cambodia. In the beginning of the ninth century, Jayavarman II founded the dynasty of Angkor which ruled upto the middle of the fifteenth century and laid the foundations of the greatness of Khmer civilization.[1]

During the many centuries of cultural contacts with India, the Ancient Khmers enriched and developed manifold aspects of their culture. The Khmer rulers had founded the great monuments of Angkor group along with a number of other marvels of architecture which combine the principles of 'Hindu art' and the genius of Khmer people. They also patronised Sanskrit which flourished in the valley of the Mekong, and had played the privileged role of the court language. The Khmers also studied, carefully, principles of Hindu state craft and had put into practice the theories of Ancient Hindu political thinkers, as is exemplified below:

(i) The concept of the world ruler (*cakravartin*) appears to be the key concept of the Khmer monarchy. Jayavarman II instituted the cult of Devaraja in order that Cambodia might no longer be dependent on Java, and that the kingdom might be ruled by a *cakravartin*.[2] The Khmer rulers were thus consecrated to attain the status of a *cakravartin*.[3]

The *cakravartin* is credited in Indian literature with a conventional list of 'seven jewels' (or treasures) constituting his imperial regalia,[4] which included the treasurer, the adviser—along with the wheel, elephant, and horse—as well as the treasure of a woman. A Sanskrit text belonging to the reign period of Yasovarman of Cambodia (889-900 A.D.) refers to the jewels "such as elephant, horse, woman and man".[5] Several texts underline the importance of the white elephant which protects the earth, like Indra who protects the heaven.[6]

Following the theory of *mahapurusa laksana,* the *puranas* describe the physical signs of *cakravarti* rulers.[7] One of the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII (1181-1219 A.D.) says that the king was created by the *Brahma* with all the good signs (*sulaksana*).[8] We learn from another inscription that the same king had marks of the parasol with a banner on his feet.[9] Jayavarman V (968-1000 A.D.) had his feet marked with lotus (*kamalankita*) and his hands with the wheel (*cakracitacarukarah*).[10]

(ii) Cambodian inscriptions are also familiar with the concept of the *sarvabhauma* ruler. An epigraphical record mentions the consecration of Rajendravarman (944-968 A.D.) as a ruler of this category.[11] Yet another text speaks of the attributes of a universal monarch (*sarvabhaumanka*).[12] The Khmer kings bear equally the epithets of *samrat* and *adhiraja,*[13] and Cambodian panegyrists also describe the *digvijaya* of their patrons.[14]

(iii) We know that Hindu authors in India had prescribed the policy of righteous conquest (*dharmavijaya*).[15] For instance, while describing a king's conquest of the neighbouring areas, Kalidasa says that as a righteous conqueror (*dharmavijayin*) he took away the authority of royal power (*sriyam*) but did not enforce his dominion as a conqueror of the land.[16]

Similarly, Cambodian texts describe with predilection that the expeditions of Khmer rulers against their neighbouring kingdoms were not motivated by any territorial gains. Thus, like a just conqueror (*dharmavijayin*), Isanavarman I (611-635 A.D.) by his political wisdom (*nyaya*), based upon the three powers of a king (*sakti-traya*), "rendered the foreign kings satisfied of their fall though they were firmly implanted on the earth".[17] Again, "when he (Yasovarman) has forcibly dethroned a king for the sake of glory, he re-installed him on the throne; as Ananta, who put mount Mandara to its original place after rooting it out in order to obtain nectar".[18]

Again, there is the Indian diplomatic concept which states that instead of exterminating the dynasty of an enemy killed in the battle-field, the conqueror should install on the throne one of the scions of that dynasty.[19] This theory appears to have been followed by Khmer kings. The fortune (*sri*) of the enemies of Khmer rulers, says an inscription, remained in possession of those members of the vanquished king's family who were loyal to the conqueror.[20]

The expeditions of pre-Angkorian rulers also had not always led to the annexation of new territories. In several cases, independent petty kingdoms were reduced to the condition of a vassal principality. This is how we may explain the existence of feudatories (*samanta*) during the period.[21] But the sovereigns of Angkor made successful efforts to establish a strong administrative set-up, capable of controlling, directly, almost the entire territory under the suzerainty of the empire. Keeping this in view, they transformed the former vassal kingdoms into provinces or districts under the charge of royal officers.[22] The policy of righteous conquest (*dharmavijaya*) was not however entirely abandoned. Vassal states continued to exist around the periphery of the Angkorian empire.[23]

(iv) In order to distinguish between good and bad diplomacy (*sunayanaya-jnah*),[24] rulers of ancient Cambodia had utilised six types of foreign policy (*guna*) as had been described in the Indian texts: peace (*sandhi*), war (*vigraha*), attacking the enemy (*yana*), neutrality (*asana*), seeking protection from a powerful king (*samsraya*) and the "dual policy" (*dvaidhibhava*).[25] "In the millieu the king humbly inclined on all the continents", says an inscription, "he carried the sceptre (*danda*), having the experience of the six types of foreign policy (*guna*) . . . ."[26]

(v) The rulers of ancient Cambodia had applied four political expedients (*upaya*) in order to conquer their enemies: conciliation (*sama*), bribery (*dana*), dissension (*bheda*), and force (*danda*).[27]

(vi) The three factors of power (*sakti*)—the strength of prowess (*utsaha-sakti*), the strength of material resources (*prabhava-sakti*), and the strength of counsel (*mantra-sakti*) mentioned in the works of Hindu statecraft[28]—were well known to Khmer kings since the pre-Angkorian times.[29] For instance, we read in a text: "Only with one spear (*sakti*), Skanda killed his maternal uncle who spoke the truth, but he (the king) had three powers (*sakti*) which he employed not only to destroy his enemies but also to protect his race."[30]

It is generally held by Hindu political thinkers that the strength of counsel (*mantra-sakti*) is superior to the two other powers. Visvarupa (on *Yajnayavalkya* I. 340) says that a king's strength of enterprise (*utsaha-sakti*) as well as that of his material resources (*prabhava-sakti*) depend upon his strength of counsel (*mantra-sakti*) since he can win success through the last alone, even in the absence of the other two powers.[31] The lofty tree of enterprise (*utsaha*) having the strength of intellect (*prajna*) for its main root, says the author of the *Sisupalavadham*, bears the mighty fruit of material strength (*prabhava-sakti*).[32]

Cambodian inscriptions also attach great importance to *mantra-sakti*: "The maidens of each quarter conquered by the strength of his *mantra* . . . . paid the tribute to him by their own accord."[33]

(vii) The fundamental condition for the success of a foreign policy is the secrecy of deliberations (*mantra*). The king whose deliberations, says Manu, are not known to mortals shall enjoy the whole earth, even if he is deprived of treasure.[34] A Cambodian inscription alludes to the principle of the secrecy of counsel (*mantraguptih*).[35] Moreover, the success of a foreign policy, observed the political thinkers of Ancient India, depended upon a careful and systematic study of the weak points (*chidra*) of one's enemy.[36] Thus, in order to render the enemy helpless in his planning, Khmer kings exploited the weak points.[37]

(viii) The fact that Cambodian inscriptions reveal a thorough knowledge of the six types of foreign policy (*sadgunya*) leads us to believe that the theory of inter-state relations (*mandala*) was also well-known to Khmer rulers. In fact, Hindu political thinkers held that the six-fold policy constituted the main source of inter-state relations (*mandala*).[38] It is conceived as consisting of an aggregate of twelve kings with a central king called the aggressor (*vijigisu*). Along with two neutral kings, there is a set of five kings in the rear, alternately functioning as his foes and his friends.[39] Each of the twelve constituents of the *mandala* are known as the *prakriti* and four of them —aggressor (*vijigisu*), ally (*mitra*), enemy (*ari*), neutral (*madhyama*) and indifferent (*udasina*)—are termed as *mula prakriti*.[40]

It is interesting to note that in the inscription of *Mebon*, the king is considered as *mula prakriti* : "Always recognised as the fundamental element (or primordial matter), showing a great and admirable activity (or the varied action of *mahat*), only by the exercise of the sixfold *guna*, without having need of the parole, he proclaimed the incomparable triple *guna*."[41] This passage does not mention any of the twelve elements of the *mandala*. It appears, however, that the king is considered here as a *vijigisu*, so that he receives the epithet of *mula prakriti*. In fact, the aggressor (*vijigisu*), after a careful study of the political situation, adopts one of the six-fold policy.

Epigraphical records mention the enemy (*satru*) and the ally (*mitra*) of a king. "His friends," says an inscription, "prospered like the liberties made in view of either *dharma* or *artha* while his enemies declined like the liberties made for the attainment of pleasure (*kama*)."[42] Another text says that a king protects as much as a thousand friends (*mitra*) while the Meru sees only one friend (*mitra*=sun).[43] In reading these Cambodian texts which attach great importance to the ally of a king, we are reminded of the saying of Manu: "By obtaining gold and territory, a king does not prosper as much as by creating faithful friends".[44]

The mention of friends and foes of a king does not however prove definitely that the theory of *mandala* was known in Cambodia. Nevertheless, an inscription of Champa (1088 A.D.) seems to refer to some of the elements of the *mandala* system. Taking into account the parallel developments of Sanskrit literature in Cambodia and Champa, this reference is of great importance. The text says that the king Jaya Indravarman applied the four political expedients (*sama, danda, bheda, upapradana*) to deal with his enemies (*satru-mandala*), his ally (*mitra-mandala*) and his powerful neighbouring kings (*udasinagana*).[45]

The above passage of the inscription of Champa is in tune with what we learn specially from Manu and other Hindu authors.[46] The king should also apply, says *Visnu,* the four-fold policy—of conciliation, dissension, bribery and force—towards his enemy (*satru*), his ally (*mitra*), his most powerful neighbour (*udasina*) and the neutral king (*madhyama*).[47]

(ix) The institution of spies played a vital role in diplomatic matters, as we learn from Kautilya.[48] *Kamandaka* considers spies as the eyes of a king (*caracaksurmahipatih*).[49] Keeping in view the fact that the status of a king should be supreme, so observes an inscription of Yasovarman, he should make his spies as the eyes even though he may be capable of knowing by his intelligence everything which might be known.[50]

Another inscription of Yasovarman compares the spies of a king with the rays of the sun. Like the sun extracting water from the earth through its rays, a king gathers public opinion through his spies:

vyapina patuna tattva hetuna tapanayitah
yas caransu sahasrena jaganmata payo grahita.[51]

It is interesting to note that *Kamandaka* describes the role of spies with the same simile and in strikingly similar words:

samapibanto jagatam matam
jalai bhumeriva suryapadah.[52]

Thus, it is clear from the above examples that Indian diplomatic theories were well-known to ancient Khmers, and Angkorian records mention the complete series of diplomatic theories of ancient India. It may, however, be said that the royal panegyrists who mention these theories are more anxious to praise their patrons than to record the truth. Therefore, it is permissible to think that Khmer kings had never put into practice most of these theories. Nevertheless, even if their application is doubtful, Cambodian texts clearly indicate that ancient Khmers had a fair understanding of the diplomatic theories of India. These illustrate their usefulness for a Sourcebook, with a note of caution that since these theories are academic in nature one should view them with a little scepticism, for any inference of the real situation.

NOTES

1. Coedes G. *Angkor*, London, 1963, pp. 1-4.
2. *BEFEO*, XLIII, p. 87 1/72-73 (Inscription of *Sdok Kok Thom*), one of the texts says that Bhavavarman I was the grandson of Sri Cakravartin. *IC* VII, p. 157 (K 978).
3. *ISCC*, XVII, B (Lovek), p. 131, st, XXII, cf. Majumdar, No. 160, p. 424, St. 49, *manṭrihis Cakravarttitve yo' bhyasicyata Sattarah.*

4. *Digha Nikaya* II, p. 176, III, p. 59. cf. U. N. Ghosal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, p. 77. In the place of the wise councillor (*parinayaka ratna*) and the treasurer (*gahapati*) of the Pali literature are substituted *ratna* and *nidhi* in the *Puranas*. *Matsyapurana*, 142. 63, *Vayupurana*, 57. 68-82, cf. V. S. Agrawal, *Matsyapurana : A Study*, p. 390.

5. *ISCC*, LIX, p. 485, st. XIV(D). *dvipasva lalana purusadi ratnam.*

6. *BEFEO*, IV, p. 73, st. XXI.

7. *Matsyapurana*, 142, 71-2.

8. *BEFEO* XLI, p. 287, st. XIX (*Prah-Khan*)

9. *IC*, IV, p. 210 (*Prasat Crun of Angkor*)
dhvajatapattrankita padayugma.

10. *IC*,. I, p. 165, st. XXII, cf. *IC*, IV, p. 132, st. III.

11. *IC*, I, p. 124, st. CXXXVI (*Pre-Rup*).
abhisekambhasa yasya sikta katipayapi bhuh
sarvabhaumasva santanam sarvabhumer apaharat.

12. *ISCC*, No. LVII, p. 449, st XXV (c).

13. *BEFEO* XLI, p. 286, st. XIX, (Prah-Khan), *ISCC*, p. 88. st. XXIX, *ibid.*, p. 137, st IX.

14. *IC*, *I*, p. 110, st. XXX, (*Pre-Rup*).
jity aikaviro disam indraguptam
yo daksinan dehabhrtan didipe
pracetasin cetasi sottaranca
na rajasuyaya tu jisnur ekam. cf. *Mahabharata* III, .24 (*Digvijaya parvan*).

15. Of the three types of conquerors, says Kautilya, "the just conqueror (*dharmavijayin*) is satisfied with mere obeisance. Fearing his own enemies, the greedy conqueror (*lobhavijayin*) is satisfied with what he can safely gain in land or money. The demon-like conqueror (*asuravijayin*) satisfies himself not merely by seizing land, treasure, sons and wives of the conquered, but by taking the life of the latter". *AS*, XII, I, 10-1, 13, 15 cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. III, pp. 68-9.

16. *Raghuvamsam*, IV, 43.
grihita pratimuktasya sa dharmavijayi nripah
sriyam mahendra nathasya nathasya jahara natu medinim
cf. *BEFEO*, VI, p. 74, st. XXVIII (*Ta-Prohm*)
campa gatasya yudhi yasya grihitamuktatad bhudharasya
caritamritam anyabhupaih srutva natair hritamivanjalibhir
varange siktam mahohutavahodita tapa santyai
cf. *BEFEO* XXV p. 328 (*Mebon*) st. CXCI
kevalam rajanaganam viryam mantra ivaharat

17. *IC*, IV, p. 7, st. XIV.
yasya saktitrayavata nayena parabhubhritah
krita rasajna patasya ruddhamulah ksitav api.
The passage means to say that Isanavarman forced the neighbouring kings to accept his suzerainty but he allowed them to rule their kingdoms. Thus, they were rendered satisfied even after defeat.

18. *ISCC*, No. LVIII, p. 466, st. V, cf. Majumdar, No. 64, p. 108, st. 59.
balad uddhritya yassase bhupam punar atisthipat
svasthane amrita labhaya yo ananta iva mandaram.

19. *Manu*, VII, 202. *sthapayet tatra tad vamsyam juryac ca samayakriyam* cf. *Visnu* III, 47-8.

20. *ISCC*, No. LVII, st. 4(c), p. 436. cf. Majumdar, No. 62, p. 104, st. 58.
yenari srir api hrita bhaktair bhuktaiva tat Kulaih.

21. The pre-Angkorian kingdom of *Tchen-la* had a number of vassal states under its control. A text of 627 A.D. mentions the lord of Tamrapura who was vassal of Isanavarman I. *ISCC,* No. VI, pp. 38-44. cf. Majumdar, No. 25, pp. 29-30. Another inscription of the same epoch refers to this king as "suzerain of three kings and lord of three towns". Majumdar No. 19, p. 25. Yet another inscription mentions Narasimhagupta, vassal chief (*samanta nripati*) under the first three kings of the pre-Angkorian period (Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman and Isanavarman I), who was the lord of Indrapura. *BEFEO,* XLII, p. 5.

22. Sresthapur, Sambhupura, Vyadhapura, Vrai Vyak, Indrapura, Malyan, Ugrapura, Amoghapura, Bhimapura, Purandarapura etc. appear to be ruled by the vassal chiefs during the pre-Angkorian period. These territories were transformed into administrative units of *visaya* in the later period. cf. Sachchidanand Sahai, *Les Institutions Politiques et l'Organisation Administrative du Cambodge Ancien,* chap. IV (to be published soon).

23. Before obtaining the independent status, the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya was a vassal state under the Khmer empire. G. Coedes. *Les Etate Hindouise d'Indochine et d'Indonesie,* pp. 356-57. The Khmer expeditions against Champa were not always motivated by the desire to annex this kingdom. During the reign period of Jayavarman VII, Champa was annexed to the Khmer Empire. But the Khmer occupation was of a very short duration. G. Coedes, *ibid.* pp. 310-21. In most of the cases, the Khmer rulers had forced the kings of Champa to accept their suzerainty.

24. *ISCC.* No. XXXVIII. p. 315. st. VIII (D).
sadgunyavit trividhasaktiyuto jitatma
yo gan jugopa manuvat sunayanayajnah,
cf. Majumdar. No. 57. p. 69. st. 8. A pre-Angkorian text praises the political wisdom (*nyaya*) of Isanavarman I (*BEFEO* XXVIII p. 45 st. III cf. Majumdar No. 16 p. 21 st. 3.):
prayukta nayamatrena kadacid avanibhujam
paksa cchidapakartrinam vajriyenavisesitah.
Several other texts underline the importance of the political wisdom (*nyaya*), which is considered to be one of the most important in the world, the three others being *utsaha, bala, pratapa.* *ISCC.* No. LIX. p. 490. st. VII (B). cf. *BEFEO,* XLI (*Prah-Khan*), p. 286. st. XX. Kautilya says that a king with political wisdom (*nayajnah*), though possessing a small territory, can conquer the whole earth. *AS.* VI. 1. 18. cf. *ibid.* VI. 2. 10-1.

25. *AS.* VII. I. 2, *Manu.* VII. 160-168, *Kamandaka.* XV. 32.

26. *ISCC.* No. LXV. p. 575. st. 70. cf. Majumdar, No. 191, p. 554. st. 70.
sarvadyipesv adhisesu vinayenanatesu yah
dandand adhara sadagunya vriddhas sadguninam varah
cf. Inscription of *Tep Pranam* (Yasovarman), *J.A.* 1908 (2), p. 216. st. XXVII. cf. Majumdar, No. 67. p. 128. st. XXVII; Inscription of *Bat-Cum* (Rajendravarman). *JA.* 1908 (2), p. 230. st. VII (B). The texts however do not mention the six *gunas* by name. The Javanese work *Nagarakertagama* also mentions six types of foreign policy (*purnnen sadaguna*), vol. III. ch. V canto 45. st. 4. We learn from an inscription of Champa (1088 A.D.) that Jaya Indravarman had a deep knowledge of the six types of foreign policy (*sadagunyabhiprya*). Louis Finot's rendering of this expression by the six systems of philosophy is incorrect. *BEFEO.* IV. pp. 947-50. n. 2.

27. *IC*, I, p. 175. st. IX (*Prasat Komphus* Inscription of Jayavarman V): cf. Majumdar, No. 112 p. 294.
samadiyoga parivardhita dinmukha srih.
Suryavarman II (1113-1150 A.D.) is said to be an expert of four political expedients. *IC.* V. p. 261. st. XXXVI (K. 834). cf. *Mebon Inscription of Rajendravarman*, Majumdar, No. 93. p. 206, st. 81:
sanmantra mulais caturas caturbhis
samadibhir yo vividha prayogaih.
apaya samrodhibhir abhupayair
vedais ca samsadhayatisma siddhim
cf. L. Finot, *The Inscriptions of Mison*, *BEFEO*. IV, p. 935-971A/3. cf. *Manu* VII. pp. 107-109, 159, 198-200. *Yajnavalkya* I. 346.

28. In the *Arthasastra* (VI. 2. 33); the three powers are explained respectively to mean the strength of knowledge, that of revenue and the army, and that of prowess: *saktis trividha, jnanabalam mantrasaktih, kosadandabalam prabhusaktih, vikrama balam utsaha saktih.*

29. *IC*. IV. p. 7. st. XIV. (Isanavarman I).

30. *ISCC*. LX. p. 520. st. XII (C). cf. Majumdar, No. 65 p. 116 st. 66.
saktyaikayavadhit skando matulam satyavadinam
saktitrayena yo jnatin palayitvadahad dvisam.
cf. *ISCC*. LVIII. p. 464. st. XIX (B), *BEFEO*. XXV. p. 354. st. 45, cf. Majumdar No. 129 A. p. 330.
An inscription of Arkan (*BSOAS*. XI. p. 377 st. 42) and another of Champa (652 A.D., *BEFEO*. IV. p. 923. st. XX) mention equally the three powers (*saktitraya*).

31. *AS*. IX. 14-5. *Kamandaka*. XVII. 7. cf. Ghosal, U.N., *op-cit*. pp. 366-67.

32. *Sisupalavadham*. II. pp. 76-117.

33. *IC*. I. p. 21. st. XXIV.
yasovatamsena sada ranjita yena digvadhuh
vasikrita mantravalais syamdatta karabhavat.
cf. *Kamandaka*. XVII. 58.

34. *Manu* VII. 148.
yasya mantram na jananti samagamya prithagjanah
sa krtsnam prithivim bhunkte kosahinopi parthivah

35. *ISCC*. LX. p. 523. st X(D).
na mantraguptir mathane dhruvam hy asritya durlabhah
yasya yag vaktra vaksamsi sudhendu sri payonidhih.

36. "None of his enemies", says Kautilya, "shall know his secret, but he shall know the weak points of his enemy, like a tortoise, he shall draw in his limbs that are stretched out" *AS*. 1.16.60. *nasya guhyam pare vidyus chidram vidyat parasya casguhet kurma ivangani vat syad vivritam atmanah.* cf. Manu VII. 102, *Kamandaka* VIII. 65. *Raghuvamsam*. XV. 17. *Sukra* IV. 82.

37. *BEFEO*. XXV. p. 338. st. LXV (*Mebon*):
randhre bhiyogam nijapaksa raksam
vibhajya yo dusanasadhanabhyam
hritottara prakramamatatana
kurvan patun nispratibham vipaksam.
cf. *ISCC*. No. LIX, p. 479. st. XXV (B).

38. *AS* VII.I. *sadagunyasya prakritimandalam yonih.*

39. *AS*. VI.2, XII-16-9, *Manu* VII. 155-59.
cf. U. N. Ghosal, *op.cit.*, pp. 93-4, 194.

40. *Manu.* VII. 156.
etah prakritayo mulam mandalasya samasatah.
astau canyah samakhyata dvadasaiva tu tah smritah.

41. *BEFEO.* XXV, p. 320. st. LXXXII.
sadapi mulaprakritih pratitas
citram mahat karma ca darsavan yah.
sadagunya yogat trigunam pradhanam
atulyamacasta vinapi vaca.

Finot has not been able to translate this passage accurately. He has left the term *sadagunya* unexplained. His rendering of the term *mulaprakritih* as the protagonist of war is not to be found in any lexicographical work.

In our opinion, the expression *mulaprakritih* and *sadagunya* of the aforesaid passage refer to the inter-state relations (*mandala*). In fact, Kautilya has clearly underlined the close relations between the six *guna* and the system of *mandala*. "Thus a king in the circle of sovereign states shall, by adopting the six-fold policy, endeavour to pass from the state of deterioration to that of stagnation, and from the latter to that of progress." *AS.* VII. 1. 38.

It remains, however, to explain the triple *guna* in the political sense. In this connection, a passage of the inscription of *Pre-Rup* is quite significant: "Out for the conquest of quarters, though he manifested only the quality of *sattva*, he produced the obscurity (the quality of *tamas*) through the dust (the quality of *rajas*) caused by his army" *IC,* I, p. 125, st. CXLVI.

42. *ISCC.* No. LVII, p. 437, st. XXII (C).
yasyavavar-dhan-ta suhrido dharmarthavapti danavat
ksayan gatas tu ripavas tyagah kamakrita iva

43. *IC.* IV, p. 210. st. XX (Jayavarman VII).
sahasramitrany api durajani
raraksa yo vitatamamsi virah.
svarnadrir ekan tu tamobhibhutam.
mittran nijam pasyati parsvavrittam.

44. *Manu,* VII. 208.

45. L. Finot, *Inscription of Mison, BEFEO.* IV. p. 947. B/8-9. *Caturupay sidah sama, danda, bheda, upapradana di satrumandala mitramandala, udasinagana.* The same inscription says that the king was well-versed in the six types of foreign policy (*sadagunyabhipraya*). Thus, it is beyond doubt that the inscription refers to the system of *mandala.*

46. *Manu.* VII. 177, 180.
sarvopayais tatha kuryan nitijnah prithivipatih
yathasva bhyadhika na syur mitrodasina satravah

47. *Visnu-smriti.* III. 35-6, *ibid.* 38-40.

48. *AS.* I. 13.

49. *Kamandaka.* XIII. 28-9, 31.

50. *ISCC.* No. LVI, p. 421, st. X.
niravarana buddhitvat sarvvam vedyam vidann api
rajasthitir alanghyeti caracaksur babhuva yah
cf. *Pre-Rup* Inscription of Rajendravarman (961 A.D.):
traikalaya vijnanavato pi yasya
saksad ivesasya narendra murtteh
netrikritas tattva vicara daksah
puseva diksu pracacara carah

51. *ISCC*. LVII. p. 438. st. XII.
52. *Kamandaka*. XIII. 50. cf. *ibid*. XIII. 27, R. K. Dikshit, "System of Espionage in the *Nitisara* of *Kamandaka*", *Journal of Indian History*. XXXVIII. (III). pp. 627-34.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AS	*Arthasastra* of Kautilya.
BEFEO	*Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient.*
IC	*Inscriptions du Cambodge* (I.VIII), by George Coedes.
ISCC	*Inscriptions Sanscrites de Champa et du Cambodge,* by A. Bargaigne. A. Barth.
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
Majumdar	*Inscriptions of Kambuj,* by R. C. Majumdar.

VISHAL SINGH

India and Civilizations in South-East Asia

It is proposed to discuss in this paper the need for a balanced fresh approach to the study of civilizations in India and South-East Asia. Not very long ago, many Indian scholars erroneously wrote in terms of India's cultural 'colonies' in South-East Asia. On account of vigorous criticism of this approach from many Western scholars, most Indians now wish to tone down the fact of India's strong cultural ties with South-East Asia during ancient and medieval times. Its direct manifestation now may be seen in the absence of an Indian cultural policy towards South-East Asia. Nevertheless, the intensity and frequency of India's past contacts with this region cannot possibly be ignored. If these are taken into account, without speaking of colonization, it should be possible to develop a different cultural approach to the region.

While this author has been deeply impressed by the richness of many South-East Asian civilizations (particularly the Cambodian and Javanese), he is not able to share the views of some Western scholars, such as J. C. Van Leur, who wishes to make out that India's contacts with the region were not very strong.[1]

D. G. E. Hall, the veteran historian of South-East Asia, has exhibited a somewhat belated influence of J. C. Van Leur and others in the revised editions of his history of South-East Asia. The chapter entitled "Indian Cultural Influence" in the original (1955) edition was changed to "South-East Asian Proto-History" in the 1964 edition and has been thus retained in the third (1968) edition. He criticises, like Van Leur, the concept of colonization of South-East Asia by Indians. There may not be much dispute with them over this; what is disturbing is Hall's somewhat unsuccessful attempt to water down the extent of Indian cultural influence in South-East Asia. While he deprecates expressions like "Further India," "Greater India" or "Little China", he takes serious objections to expressions like "Indo-China" and "Indonesia".[2] He has, however, failed to explain the continuous currency of such expressions. It is perhaps relevant to quote Soekarno, the premier nationalist of Indonesia, about the origin of his country's name. According to him: "The word 'Indonesia' comes from a German ethnologist, named Jordan who was a scholar in Holland. His special study was of this chain of islands. Due to the archipelago's proximity to India, he labelled it 'The islands of the Indies'. *Nesos* being Greek for islands, it came out *Indusnesos* which eventually became Indonesia." It is indeed a great pity that, notwithstanding Hall's objections, Soekarno stated ten years after the appearance of the veteran historian's book: "When we felt the necessity to federate our islands in one comprehensive manner, we fastened onto this name and loaded it with political connotations until it, too, became a spearhead of national identity."[3]

To illustrate, it would be a grave error to underestimate the role of Indian trade with South-East Asia as the major channel for cultural contact. Whatever may have been the cultural levels of the traders themselves it was through them that the lines of communications between India and South-East Asia were kept open. Examining the role of Indian textiles in South-East Asian trade as late as the seventeenth century, when European political power was quite assertive in this region, S. P. Sen points out: "First, there was a great, almost unlimited, demand for these goods in all of the South-East Asian markets; second, they constituted the principal medium of exchange for the trade of South-East Asia with the outside world; and third, they shaped the pattern of Inter-Asian trade of the European Companies, which laid the foundation of their wealth and commerce and later political power in the eighteenth century."[4] In this context, therefore, it is not possible to ignore the important role which may be played by economic ties between India and South-East Asia in the development of their cultural relations. It would be fruitful for any projected Sourcebook to try to evaluate the magnitude of these trade patterns.

Hence, in a Sourcebook published under Indian auspices, it would be worthwhile to make an effort to learn how we figure in the image of South-East Asians, besides giving Indian interpretations of South-East Asian civilizations. A significant achievement in this field is a recent issue of *Cultural Forum* devoted to "India in the Eyes of South-East Asia".[5] In this issue Dr. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto from Indonesia has written on "India as is known to the people of Indonesia". Dr. (Mrs.) Haryati Soebadio has contributed an article on "New Sanskrit Loan Formations in Bahasa Indonesia". There are also contributions by Thai, Philipino, Malaysian and Indian scholars. An extended effort by the editors of a Sourcebook along these lines is likely to contribute to a better understanding of the cultural relations between the peoples of South-East Asia and India.

To take a well-known example, there is need for an objective and sustained effort to locate the South-East Asian versions of Ramayana and Mahabharata. The great temple of Angkor-Wat built in the twelfth century has bas-relief depicting scenes from Ramayana and Mahabharata. The earliest effort in bas-relief to depict religious tales is to be seen in the Baphuon temple (built 1049 to 1065 A.D.) in the Angkor complex. It is of some interest to note that among the last issues of *Kambuja,* a monthly illustrated review edited by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a scholarly study entitled *Ramker* (Ramayana Khmer) was published.[6] In a preface to this study, Hang Thun Hak, Rector of the Royal University of Fine Arts says: "Indeed, Khmer art in all its many forms always reveals some connection or other with the history of Rama."

In Thailand, the temple of the Emerald Buddha (*Wat Phra Kheo*) built towards the end of the eighteenth century has Ramayana murals. In 1807, King Rama I produced a version of the Ramayana. The Ramayana tradition is quite strong in Indonesia too and is being continued through 'shadow play' and drama.[7] Yogiswara's Ramayana in old Javanese was written about a thousand years ago. The living manifestation of this tradition is a performance of the Ramayana ballet every year in the shadow of the Prambanan temple (near Jogjakarta) on moonlit nights during the dry season.

Another field of inquiry for a Sourcebook is the origin and extent of Buddhism in South-East Asia. Prince Dhani Nivat has written a brief history of Buddhism in his country.[8] But there is need for further inquiries in this field. Similarly, it should be fruitful to examine the role of Indians in the spread of Islam in South-East Asia. Dr. S. M. H. Nainar was reported to be doing some studies in this regard. It would be useful to find out the results of his researches.

Although the researches of R. C. Majumdar, Nilakanta Shastri and B. R. Chatterji, in India's contacts with Ancient South-East Asia, are well-known there are some recent studies of note, such as D. P. Singhal's two-volume study entitled *India and World Civilization* (Michigan University Press, 1969), and D. Devahuti's *India and Ancient Malaya* (Singapore, 1965), which deals not only with India's contacts with Malaya but it also throws considerable light on India's relations with Sri Vijaya and Java, along with chapters on Buddhism and Hinduism in Malaya.

To sum up, it is suggested that a Sourcebook should take into account the writings of *both* the Indian and South-East Asian scholars. The latter should be particularly asked to identify the sources of their cultures and civilizations for inclusion in a Sourcebook. We Indians have to approach this project in the knowledge that vigorous cultural contacts between India and South-East Asia were of mutual benefit. The trade between the two areas brought economic advantages to both and India particularly benefited by developing a catholic approach to civilization. There was also no question of India having cultural 'colonies'. Angkor, Borobudur and Prambanan are monuments to the cultural autonomy and the national genius of both Cambodians and Indonesians.[9]

NOTES

1. J. C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague and Bandung, 1955), pp. 95, 103-4.
2. See D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London, 1955).
3. *Soekarno, An Autobiography as told to Cindy Adams* (Hongkong, 1965), p. 63.
4. S. P. Sen, "The Role of Indian Textiles in South-East Asian Trade in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of South-East Asian History,* 3 (September, 1962), p. 92.
5. *Cultural Forum* (New Delhi, Ministry of Education and Youth Services), 9 (April-June, 1969).

   For a similar effort related to more recent times, see *The Image of Contemporary India Abroad* (New Delhi, India International Centre, 1967). This author contributed to it, on the piece relating to South-East Asia.
6. See *Kambuja* (Phnom Penh) for the months of October, November and December, 1969. A French version has also appeared in a book form in 1969 from Phnom Penh.

   For a study by a Malaysian scholar, see S. Singaravelu's *A Comparative Study of the Story of Rama in South India and South-East Asia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966).
7. For an excellent account of Javanese Ramayana, see the chapter "The Ramayana in Java" in B. R. Chatterji, *The History of Indonesia* (Meerut, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1967), pp. 69-85.

   Also see Sundardjo Haditjaroko, *Ramayana, Our National Reader* (Djakarta, Djambatan, 1961). The latter was produced as a text-book for Indonesian students learning the English language.
8. *A History of Buddhism in Siam* (Bangkok, The Siam Society), 1965.
9. The points made during the discussion hour on this paper were as follows:
   - (i) It was agreed that it was high-time Indians stopped naming Ancient South-East areas as 'Hindu' *colonies* in the political sense.
   - (ii) A total study of that area might also include Khmer inscriptions.
   - (iii) The Ramayana and Mahabharata were very relevant there, even today, and the Muslims there recite from them, their own versions during the festivals.
   - (iv) The form of these epics, in general, was quite different there. For instance, Javanese Ramayana was not Valmiki's epic but the Bhaktikavya; in Thailand, the source would include such versions as *Adhabuta* Ramayana which had glorified Hanumana, Siva and the 100-headed Ravana of Patala.
   - (v) It might be fruitful to examine the changing characters of Hanumana, Arjuna, etc., as they had emerged in those areas; or, to examine why only the Rama cult had spread there and not the legend of Krishna.
   - (vi) In the understanding of cultural interaction between India and South-East Asia, different models of study, say, the 'diffusionist' or the 'autochthonous' one, etc., may be worth employing.

K. D. BAJPAI

South-East Asian Sculpture as a Source

THE present paper is an effort to assess, briefly, the significance of the remains of the plastic arts available in Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, the peninsula of Indo-China and the islands once known as the *East Indies.* It is well-known that these regions of South-East Asia had strong cultural and commercial relations with India for a period of over a thousand years. Therefore, the diffusion and impact of Indian civilization is clearly discernible in the ancient sculptural art of these areas.

Several parts of South-East Asia had developed their own cultures, to some extent, before coming into contact with India. The remains of these cultures have come to light as a result of archæological explorations and excavations. However, the literary and art evidence shows that the close contacts of these areas with India began only from about the beginning of the Christian era. At a later stage, although the local traits of the so-called Indo-Khmer and Indo-Javanese cultures played their own role, the influence of intrinsic Indian civilization on the life and thought of South-East Asian countries becomes very well defined, specially as is known from the study of the religious ideas and institutions as well as of the art-remains.

The plastic arts of South-East Asia, both in the field of concept and form, specially from the 2*nd* to the 12*th* centuries A.D., indicate the predominance of Indian impact. For example, in a majority of the sculptures, Indian iconographic formulae have been clearly adopted until about *c.* 800 A.D. But the so-called Classical period of South-East Asian art, which can be bracketed between *c.* 800 and 1200 A.D., indicates an assimilation of the indigenous traits with those of the Indian iconographic prescriptions.

The temples of Siva, Visnu and other deities, along with their numerous statues, found in various parts of these areas show the impact of the Vedic-Puranic religions. This is also borne out by the large number of carved panels representing scenes from the Epics and the Puranas. The inscriptional evidence, along with the discovery of the Vedic sacrificial posts (*vupas*), in

Borneo and some other islands further corroborates this evidence. However, the presence of stupas, chaityas and viharas, the large number of Buddhist sculptures and the epigraphical evidence found in South-East Asia clearly points out to the fact that there was a spirit of toleration and harmony between the followers of the Vedic-Puranic faith and Buddhism.

Thus, a close study of the ancient South-East Asian plastic arts reveals to us not only its subject-matter but also the 'Indian-ness' of its aesthetic principles, the iconometry, style and symbology, etc. In so far as secular art is concerned, the various decorative motifs and other examples clearly testify to the 'Indianesque' inspirations.

It is not possible to deal here with South-East Asian sculpture in detail. However, in such a brief account, one may mention the Vedic-Puranic religious systems, the Saiva and Vaisnava temples, and other temples and statues discovered in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Annam, Sumatra and Java. The Devaraja cult of Khambuja gave an impetus to the growth of Saivism. At *Mison* in Champa, at *Chandi-Benon* and *Chandi-Jago* in Java and at several other sites, the Brahmanical images are remarkable not only from the point of view of iconography but also for their aesthetic merits. The same can be said about the bronzes from Ceylon, representing Siva Nataraja, Parvati, Kartikeya, Visnu, Laksmi and other deities. The art objects found at *Rajapuri, Kedah, Takua-pa, Ligor* and other sites in Thailand, bearing the Gupta and Pallava art-styles, may also be mentioned in this connection along with the Vaisnava and Saiva sculptures of Burma.

As regard Buddhist sculptures, mention may be made of *Anuradhpur* in Ceylon; *Ta-gaung, Prome* and *Thaton* in Burma; *Kedah, Lop-puri* and several other sites in Indo-China; and *Singasari* and *Borobudur* in Java. These sites have not only yielded a large number of images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—useful for iconographic study—but also abundant material representing various Jataka stories, scenes from the Buddha's life and other material of great cultural importance. *Borobudur,* as is well-known, ranks very high from this point of view.

The tantric cults also had their influence on the art of South-East Asia. This can be noticed particularly in the later art of Burma, Sumatra and Java. In Eastern Java numerous syncretic images have been discovered, which shed light on the tantric cults. In Central Java several tantric metal images also have been found.

A very interesting phase of South-East Asian sculpture is noticeable in the form of a harmonious blending of Brahmanical and Buddhist religions. Numerous examples of this may be cited from the art-relics of Cambodia and Java. The rulers of Khambuja, and the Sailendra rulers gave an impetus to the integration of religion with the fine arts. In *Chandi-Jago,* a Buddhist shrine of Eastern Java, various scenes from Lord Krishna's life are depicted.

In another temple, called *Chandi-Jawi,* Saiva and Buddhist images have been carved side by side. Numerous scenes from the Ramayana, in some respects similar to those at *Angkor-Wat* in Cambodia, may be seen at *Chandi-Loro* in Eastern Java.

It should, however, be mentioned that these inter-connections mentioned above were not always one-sided. There are few examples to show that at least some of the South-East Asian traits in art were freely imbibed by Indian artists. The Buddhist images of Sumatra with flame-like projections above the *usnisa* may be cited in this connection, and this trait was followed by artists at Sanchi and some other places in South India. The elongated head-gears in Medieval Indian art bear a close resemblance to this conventionalised art-style of South-East Asia.

The question of the impact of various regional Indian styles on the plastic arts of South-East Asia bristles with controversies. Some of the views expressed by previous scholars pertaining to these regional influences requires reconsideration. The eminent art-historian Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, for example, stated that the reliefs showing Nagas and Naginis, etc., at *Anuradhpur* in Ceylon show affinities to the decorative motifs observed at Sanchi.[1] However, on a close study of these *Anuradhpur* figures and motifs, it would appear that they are more akin to the art of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda than the art of Sanchi. The Vengi region, in fact, had cultural contacts with Ceylon in ancient times. Nevertheless, it may generally be assumed that the art-styles which developed under the Satavahanas, the Pallavas, the Chalukyas and Cholas of the South, along with the styles of the Guptas and Palas of Northern India, had their impact on South-East Asian art. But it may be noted here that certain distinctive features in the art-styles of different regions in India had grown up during the long period of time between the 2*nd* century B.C. and 13*th* century A.D. The same also holds true in the case of South-East Asian art, which shows the interesting development of indigenous regional traits. A comparative detailed study of these, along with the regional art-styles of India, from the aesthetic, iconographic and socio-cultural points of view would prove fruitful for a Sourcebook.[2]

NOTES

1. *History of Indian & Indonesian Art,* pp. 161-62, pl. XCV, fig. 286.
2. During the discussion the following points were made:
   (i) It would be fruitful to examine the type of stone from which the sculptures of South-East Asian regions were made because this would give a clue as to their local or 'imported' nature.
   (ii) Sculptors could have been 'imported' as was done, for instance, at Kasia in the Deoria district where Mathura sculptors had been employed.

(iii) Whatever may have been the original formulae for the art of sculpture in India and those in South-East Asian areas, they had developed different characteristics later on.

(iv) Chinese influence is also revealed there, such as the evidence of a drum found in Sund Islands. It shows ships carrying horses and men dressed in *Yeuh-Chih* garments, alluding to *Yeuh-Chih* merchants. This is also supported by Chinese literary sources.

(v) Chinese influence, unlike the Indian one, was imposed and was imperial in nature.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

Art and Architectural Motifs in India and South-East Asia

(i) *Art Motifs:*

Motifs like the lotus, *makara, kirtimukha,* lion, elephant, swan, fish, tortoise, *naga,* etc., occur in India in various ways—in jewellery, as decoration for furniture, in architecture, etc. Take the instance of the *makara* gargoyle motif which occurs all over India. It has its place sometimes as *uttamanga makari,* as the decoration for the crest-jewel on the crown, on the *jata,* it occurs on the *kanthi* or the 'necklet', as an ear ornament *makarakundala* and so forth. The *makara* also decorates the terminals of the back and arms of the throne, the spouts of vessels, or at one end of a flute. It is equally present in the Javanese temples and in the *stupas* like Borobudur, as a water outlet. Similarly, the lion-face is a decorative top for *tiruvasi* arch entrance both in India and in Java. The lion-head also occurs often as a decoration of the clasp of the waist-zone, on the armlet and on the crown.

The elephant motif occurs in different ways, and the special motif of a lion on an elephant occurs both in India and in the different areas of South-East Asia including Indonesia. The various patterns of the *makuta* which occurs all over Asia, has also the decoration of *makara* or lion-head in different forms, particularly in Indonesia. The *jata* arrangement in Cambodia is far simpler. It is more as a decorative theme in architecture than some of the motifs which occur in Cambodia in great profusion on jewels, furniture, architecture and, in fact, in every possible manner in Indonesia and Ceylon.

The *naga* motif occurs as *ananta* on the armlet and as an *yajnopavita,* specially for Siva and Ganesa in Java, with the *brahmagranthi* or the knot which is achieved by the gem on the hood of the snake around which the tip of the tail curls itself.

(ii) *Iconography:*

The iconography of deities may also be studied from the comparative point of view. The sculptural versions of the exploits of Vishnu are unrivalled for their wealth of imagery. To take a single instance, as they occur at Angkor-Wat, that of *amritamanthana*—with a tortoise below, the Mandara mountain above—Vishnu is himself on top and pulling, while Vasuki is used as the string along with the *devas* on one side and the *daityas* on the other. All this has been magnificently rendered in low relief. The earlier representation at Angkor-Thom is a great glorification of this very theme which occurs for the first time in the fourth century at Udayagiri (Central India), above the entrance to the cave.

The fight of *Vali* and *Sugriva* shown at Deogarh and at Ellora in the narration of the *Ramayana,* occurs in an even more graphic form at Prambanan. The idea of *Mahishamardini* standing on *Mahishasura* and trampling him, a favourite theme in India, has its own peculiar way of representation in South-East Asia. *Devi* also wears an armour in Prambanan. The *akshamala*-and-flower become favourite attributes of Siva in Java, though in India, it is more the axe-and-deer in the South and the *trisula*-and-*naga* in the North. The *Trivikrama* form in Cambodia is as interesting as the shaking of Kailasa by Ravana, both of which are excellent parallels of the Indian theme on the mainland.

Vishnu as *Seshasayi* is a favourite theme in Cambodia and Indo-China; seated on Seshanaga in the milky ocean with Garuda close to him, the gods request Vishnu to be born on earth to destroy Ravana. As it occurs at Prambanan, it is probably more telling than anywhere in India. *Garuda-Narayana* from *Balahan* in Java is after all one of the most important iconographic concepts in India. However, the *Garuda* in Java has some special features which differ from the several variations that we have in India, not only during the different centuries but also in different geographical locations.

Govardhanadhari in Cambodia becomes almost as virile, as the child that lifted the mountain developing his youthful personality, as in India itself. The line *balopi sailodharanaprasaktah* applies more aptly here than either at Mahabalipuram or at Ellora; or even in the famous figure in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, the side-locks of which are only an indication of childhood while the figure itself points to adolescence. On the other hand, the *Govardhanadhari* in the National Museum at Phnom Penh is a youth rather than a child. Several other *lilas* of Krishna like killing Kesi, etc., occur again and again in Cambodia.

(iii) *Sculpture* :

The way of life, according to *dharma,* as understood in Ancient India, appears to have been understood exactly in the same manner in different parts of South-East Asia. The offering of *purnakumbha* to welcome an honoured guest, the holding of hands clasped in *sankalpa* attitude, with a resolve to commence studies (as the Boddhisattva) on the *sravanapurnima* day, is delineated in the 8*th* century sculpture at Borobudur. The *rishis* carry their *jatas* bundled up on their head exactly in the same manner. The turban worn by the merchant in a *Jataka* story narrated in the 8*th* century sculpture from Java, is not different from the turban worn by the merchant or nobleman in Western Chalukya sculptures as at *Pattadakal.* The paraphernalia of the king-like umbrella held over him, the *chauri* waved by female attendants, the elephant or horse accompanying the prince, the consorts following the prince, the bodyguard and other significant retinue, depicted in Java or in Cambodia, closely follow similar portrayals in India. Again, the poor old Brahmin, who approached the king for a favour, carries the simple leafy umbrella just as it is in Indian sculpture at Amaravati or Ajanta or in the Chola paintings from the *Brihadisvara* temple, or for that matter from anywhere in the country.

The musical instruments and their ensemble are exactly the same in Java and Cambodia as in India. All the three varieties of drum are noticed here—*urdhvaka, ankya* and *alingya.* The *harp-vina* which had gone out of existence in India, occurs in this form of sculpture. The dance poses, *angharas* and *karanas* as depicted in Borobudur are not different from the ones represented in Indian art. Some of the *toranas* and miniature *mandapas* depicted in Java remind us of the styles of the Chalukya, Pallava and Kalinga. The simple dance theatre with light pillars supporting the canopy above, decorated with pearl strands as we know of them from paintings in Ajanta, is delightfully represented in Java.

Thus, while sometimes sculptural representations of objects which are either lost or do not exist in India, may be supplemented by the material available from Java and Cambodia. The excellent portrayal of ships of the period may be studied in the sculptural series at Borobudur and at Angkor-Wat in Cambodia. The wealth of furniture as known in Early and Medieval India also has fine parallels in Java as we know from its sculpture. Ritual, as practised in India and even the elaborate items of daily worship, are all repeated in a very telling picturesque wealth of sculpture from Java and Cambodia. Such concepts of fancy, as the *kalpavriksha,* the tree of plenty or the wish-fulfilling tree and *kinnaras, nagas* and *yakshas* are repeated in their sculpture. To take life itself, from birth till death, all the ceremonies that we know of in India like *jatakarma, namakarana, chaula, upanayana, annaprasana, vidyarambha, vivaha* and *pretakarma* have all their sculptural counterparts in Java. In short, it is very interesting to note that it is possible to study a complete picture of Indian life and thought from sources available in South-East Asia.

P. B. DESAI

Karnataka Region and its Asian Contacts : A Note

THE antiquity of South Indian civilization goes back some centuries prior to the Mauryan age, possibly to the farthest lower limit of the first millennium B.C. This is attested by the literary notices of trade and culture contacts with countries like Assyria and Babylon in the West and China in the East. That civilization was deeply rooted and was thriving on the soil of South India even before the third century B.C. is positively known from the inscriptions of Asoka which speak of the states like Chera, Chola and Pandya and of peoples in the South-Western coastal region. The contacts of South Indian regions with the Western and Eastern civilized countries were maintained throughout during the subsequent centuries.

A good knowledge of history and culture of South India is essential for studies in early South Asian Civilization also. The regions of 'East-Indies', Indonesian Islands and Ceylon as well as those of Indo-China evolved towards a civilization during the early centuries of the Christian era, most probably as a result of the 'colonial' cultural activities which had been carried on by the early Indian emigrants to those countries. These Indian emigrants hailed from several parts of India, including the South. And among the Southerners, there were some who positively came from the Western Deccan and Karnataka.

The last assertion is corroborated by epigraphical researches. It is generally believed that the early Indian 'colonists' had belonged to the Eastern coastal territory under the rule of the Pallavas. But this is only partially true. The earliest inscriptions, generally in prose, found in the lands 'colonised' by Indians, are written in the Late Brahmi script which was commonly used in the Eastern as well as Western parts of South India at that time. However, the composition, in verse, of a good many of these records is similar to the style of the records of the early Kadambas of Banavasi of the Kannada country, and not in the idiom of the early Pallavas of Tamil-land. We may also note in this context the fact that the epigraphs of the rulers of Champa (South Annam) are engraved in box-headed characters. This pecularity of the script is also conspicuous in the earlier records of the Kadambas of Karnataka.

Another noteworthy feature that has to be attributed to the influence of Karnataka is the use of the Saka era in the inscriptions of Indo-China and Indonesia from the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. It is definitely known that the Chalukyas of Badami were responsible for the popularisation and spread of the Saka era in Karnataka and elsewhere. On the contrary, the Pallavas of the Tamil-land never used any era in their epigraphical records. In fact, positive dating of the Chalukya inscriptions in the Saka era has helped immensely in the fixation of Pallava chronology.

K. V. RAMANAN

Chinese Buddhist Sources : A List

1. Chinese Buddhist sources may be classified as follows:
   A. (1) Indian Buddhist texts preserved in their Chinese translations:
      i. *Sutra*
      ii. *Vinaya*
      iii. *Sastra.*
   (2) Texts by Chinese authors:
      a. Notes and Commentaries.
      b. Independent treatises:
      i. Doctrinal
      ii. Historical
      iii. Miscellaneous.
   B. The basic texts of the important Buddhist Schools in China:
   (1) Schools of Indian origin:
      i. *Madhyamika*
      ii. *Yogacara*
      iii. *Abhidharmika*
      iv. *Satyasidhi.*
   (2) Schools of Chinese Origin:
      i. *T'ien-t'ai*
      ii. *Hua-yen*
      iii. *Ch'an*
      iv. *Chingt'u.*

The first two of Indian origin are of the Mahayana form, and they played a very important role in the formation of the Buddhist schools of Chinese origin. Later on, they got absorbed into the *T'ient'ai* and *Hua-yen* respectively.

Each of these two schools has its own classifications, so as to hold up its own basic sutras as the highest and their doctrines as perfect, "round comprehensive".

2. As regards the utilization of Chinese-Buddhist sources we have also to take into account travel records and biographies of Indian-Buddhist scholars who worked in China, as well as of the travel records of Chinese scholars and pilgrims. The traditional histories of Buddhism in China which are all preserved in the section called the *Shih Ch'uanpu* "Section on the history of transmission" are also very useful.

3. In the context of the relationship of Buddhism with the non-Buddhist schools of philosophy and religion in China, of particular interest are the debates between Buddhist and non-Buddhist scholars which are also preserved in the Chinese *tripitaka*.

4. Non-Buddhist sources for the study of Buddhism in China include references to the dynastic histories and to the criticism of Buddhism in philosophical, religious and literary texts. In addition to extracts on philosophy and religion, there are also present in these source-materials topics like, Buddhism and Society and Buddhism and the State.

5. The study of the influence of Buddhism in art, architecture, music, etc.

6. Cultural interaction between the Asian countries—India, China and Japan—has been primarily through Buddhism. This has to be examined in the light of the assessment that is to be made of the role of Buddhism in these countries.

In this context, the salient features of the ancient civilizations of India and China are noted below:

India: The metaphysical interest, the sense of the real, the passion for the ultimate, a devotedness to the understanding, comprehension, and realization of truth is a dominant feature. The place of *dharma* and *karma* in the life of the people.

China: The metaphysical interest is limited almost wholly to the Taoist school. The Confucianist is interested in setting in order the family, the state and the world by cultivating himself in the basic virtues of *jen, yi, li,* and *chih* (benevolence, righteousness, devotedness to rituals and ceremonies, and knowledge which is the understanding of the way how things primarily work in human society). References to *T'ien* and *Ming* are there, in the Analects for instance, but are not elaborated.

7. Earliest Literature of China: Confucianism.

There are nine classics, according to Confucian counting. The first five Classics are as follows:

i. The Book of History
ii. The Book of Poetry
iii. The Book of Changes
iv. The Record of Ceremonies and Rituals
v. Spring Autumn—Annual.

To the above five were added the following four Books:

vi. The Analects of Confucius
vii. The Book of Meneius
viii. The Great Learning
ix. The Doctrine of Man.

(The first two have been taken from the Fourth Book of the first Five).

8. The earliest Literature of Taoism:

The most important is Laotzu's *Tao te-ching* and Chauangtzu's work of the name *Chauangtzu.* The other minor schools of thought in early China i.e. before 200 B.C., are as follows:

A. i. The doctrine of *karma* and rebirth, the debate on the question of the extinction of the soul.
ii. An accentuation of the metaphysical instinct and articulation of the conception of the ideal world.

B. The contact (and conflict) between Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools:
i. Between Buddhism and Taoism in the early stage upto the sixth century.
ii. Between Buddhism and Confucianism in the late *T'ang* and *Sung* period.

C. i. The absence of theistic thought in China is a marked feature. Hardly any reference to the question of the existence of God can be found in the major Chinese philosophical texts, right upto the impact of the West. (*Motzu* is an exception).
ii. The complete abandoning of scripture in *Ch'an* (Zen) is something unparalleled in other countries.

D. Buddhism of the People (or Popular Buddhism):
Buddhist temples, their lands and treasury, festivals, etc.

E. Social activities of the Buddhist *sanghas.*

KAPILA VATSYAYAN

*Source Material for the Performing Arts**

THE important types of sources which will have to be examined for a meaningful reconstruction of the history of the performing arts in India and Asia, particularly South-East Asia, are as follows:

(1) The literary or 'Sastric' texts on dance, drama, music and the plastic arts are available in India, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Burma, Ceylon and Malaysia. For China and Japan, the major texts like the Zeami which are already known and published in those countries, may be included or referred to.

The period covered by textual sources ranges from the first century to the seventeenth-eighteenth century. However, while many of the countries mentioned above are not able to provide any literary material between the first and the ninth century, there is substantial material available between the tenth and the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Specific manuscripts are available in the Jakarta Museum Library, the Jogjakarta Museum Library, the Surkarta Library, the Cambodia Palace Records and the Thai Libraries.

It will, however, not be possible to include all of the 'Sastric' sources. Therefore, only those texts may be chosen which highlight the development of particular forms of music, dance and drama in these countries. To illustrate, texts are available on the following theatrical and musical forms:

(a) The *Lokhon* and its related forms, specially in Cambodia and Thailand even though these belong to a later period.

(b) Texts of the *Wyang Wong* and its related forms.

(c) Texts relating to the various kinds of puppets whether leather ones like the *Wyang Kulit* or wooden puppets like the *Wyang Golek*, etc.

(d) Sources relating to the various types of musical systems and scales.

The picture which emerges from the above source material clearly indicates that the terminology of the West relating to such dramatic forms as in dance, drama, music, tragedy, comedy, etc., are not applicable to Asian dance or dramatic forms. It will also be evident that although there is an aesthetic theory common to the area, there is also an amazing diversity and multiplicity of practice.

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* This paper is based on the note presented, and also on her remarks made during the discussions—Editor,

(2) The second major category of source material comprises such creative literature as the scripts of plays, dances or dance-drama and other creative literature. Once again, for our purposes, perhaps plays which have a common content may be chosen, such as the two major themes—Ramayana and Mahabharata—along with their manifestation in the scripts of theatrical performances. For example, some characters such as those of Rama, Lakshmana, Sita, Hanumana, Ravana, Angad and Trijata, need to be specially examined. This method may enable us to determine both the common links as also the individual distinctiveness which is given to each in the specific national traditions.

(3) The third major source material is epigraphical, and chronicles, in which material relating to the sociological position of the arts in temples and courts of these countries is available.

(4) Apart from the literary source material mentioned above, a detailed study of sculptural and other plastic arts evidence, available in the monuments, paintings and in the illustrated manuscripts, is also necessary. For instance, the temples of *Borobudur* and *Prambanan* bear ample testimony to musical instruments, dance forms; which also is seen in the monuments of *Angkor-Wat* and *Angkor-Then* and *Ajodhaya* in Thailand. There is equally valuable material, illustrated in the vast number of manuscripts on puppet plays, available in Indonesia and Malaysia.

(5) Oral sources are an extremely valuable and indispensable source, i.e. the living masters of the performing arts, specially in India, South-East Asia and Japan. For instance, rich knowledge of music and of the dance *gurus* of India, the *dalans* of Indonesia, the puppet masters and the *Noh* play masters of Japan, the *Lokhon* teachers of Thailand and Cambodia, and the *gurus* of Kandyan dances, etc. must also be drawn upon by us.

The above enumeration is a brief outline of the materials available for the performing arts in Asia. The picture which emerges will in all probability indicate that there is no place for either the 'tragedy of conflict' or of the concept of 'linear time' or of character development, as is known to the academic theatre of the West. It may also perhaps prove that the twentieth century concept of the total theatre of the West was known in Asia since the third century A.D.; that in Asia there was an inter-relationship and interdependence of the arts, i.e., while each art had an autonomy, there was also an interdependence on the other arts. The tradition which grew up was an integral tradition of the total personality and not of any one aspect of it.

However, in evolving a methodology for a study of the elements of the performing arts, which are common to India and other Asian civilizations, three stages may be formulated as follows:

(i) The pure, visual and oral impressions, which are created by the performing and plastic arts, characterized by the multiplicity of dramatic and musical forms. These belie categorization in terms of a distinct academic dramaturgy; they seem to follow a principle of stylization in all the forms as opposed to the principle of imitation or realism. The musical systems also do not follow the principle of harmony but instead seem to adhere to what may be vaguely termed as the 'model system'. Other common features such as improvisation, stress on percussion, etc. also may be noticed.

If the visual impression is pursued further into the compositional and organizational characteristics of the performing arts, we find that there are no hard and fast lines of demarcations between the folk and the classical. Although the sophisticated and unsophisticated forms may be discerned, yet the forms which have been preserved by a rigorous practice in families has been possible through oral transmissions. Thus, in India, as in certain other Asian countries, seemingly religious themes of one religion are assiduously practised by the performers who may belong to another faith.

(ii) The first stage leads us to the second, a historical time-study of the development of each of these characteristics in different Asian countries. It will mean a careful examination of the academic texts, of the creative literature, of the scripts of plays, of the plastic arts and of the oral evidence available from the living masters.

(iii) The final stage would then involve an examination of other problems, with questions like, was there a common aesthetic theory which governed the practice of these arts in spite of completely distinctive national and regional forms? The answer may lead one to the conclusion that while there are in a civilization diffusionist tendencies, there is an equally strong autochthonous tradition. Or, it may reveal that a majority of features which are formulated in a certain country, might spread thereafter to another country. These studies may also clearly indicate that the several strands, present in Asian civilizations, continually intermingle and had in the past influenced each other. The latter, perhaps, may prove the common assertion made by Asian philosophers that in Asian cultures there is present a total world view which accepts life at different levels; that although each of these levels is autonomous yet there is interdependence. It suggests that, in the matter of the performing arts, in all probability, a similar inter-dependence of the arts on each other was also prevalent in the past.

R. P. MANANDHAR

The Himalayan Region, Specially Nepal

IF we glance with one eye at the geography of India and the contour of the land and with another eye penetrate into its history, we shall see at once that the mighty Himalayan massif—with its innumerable mountains, hills and valleys and because of the splendour and beauty, the awesome closeness to the secrets of nature, the vast solitudes as well as the numerous alcoves for intellectual and spiritual experiments—has somehow throughout the ages supplied the main-spring for the highest in Indian thinking which has gone to inspire the best part of what we may call the culture of India.

If the basic Indian culture with its deep spiritual content has been born in the Himalayan region, Indian civilization with its mature expressions of the fullness of human life, and of living, has developed on the banks of the great rivers which take their rise from the Himalayan snows—the Indus which the Indians call Sindhu, the Ganga, the Jamuna, the Gandaki, and the Kosi, to name only the most important of them. The famous cities and towns which have been built upon these rivers since the dawn of history testify to civilizations which they have nurtured. From the proto-history of Harappa and Mohenjodaro through the Aryan period of the Vedas and the Upanishads and on through the great epic-epochs of Ramayana and Mahabharata down to the Muslims and the British and now what we call the post-Independence era, these great rivers have sustained the life and civilization of the Indian people. At the same time, it cannot be denied at any moment that the inner cultural inspiration has come down from the Himalayan heights.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda and the Yajur-Veda sing rapturously of the beauty of the eternally snow-clad mountains. The Vedic Rudra and the Upanishadic Shiva lived on these heights. The Mahabharata particularly is permeated with the spirit of the Himalayas. The principal heroes of this epic, the Pandavas, were born in Pandukeswar near Joshimath, and it was also in the Himalayas, in the Kedarnath region, that they retired after having won the Great War of Ancient India—the Mahabharata War. The very author of the epic Mahabharata, the renowned Vyasa who is reputed to have collected and edited the Vedas too, lived for a considerable period in a village adjoining the famous mountain shrine of Badrinath. Ramachandra, the hero of Ramayana, visited the Himalayas often for penance and quiet thinking. When Buddhism over-flowed into India, it was again a produce from the Himalayas, since Gautama himself had been born in the Himalayan foot-hills in Lumbini, within sight of the beautiful Dhawalagiri in the basin of the Kali-Gandaki river. Besides, both the Buddhists and the Jains recognise the *Nirvana* image of Badrinath in a seated position of yogic trance as the correct representation of the Buddha and of Mahavira respectively. At a later day, both the first and the last Sikh gurus, Nanak and Govind Singh, stayed for long periods of penance and meditation in Hemkund-Lokpal, surrounded by seven snow-clad peaks, in the Himalayas. E. B. Havell has observed that in Indian poetry and mythology, the sublime nature of the Himalayas has always been regarded as a special revelation of divine beauty. It has been a fitting shrine for all the gods not only in India but in many parts of Asia. To give but one of the many examples, the Kailasa temple at Ellora is a monolithic idealised rendering of Shiva's Himalayan hermitage, intended to suggest to the pilgrims that a replica of the Divine Yogi's heavenly cell had been put down for them at this sacred spot, so that they might be spared the long and perilous climb to the real Kailasa!

Later on, as is well-known, when repeated Muslim onslaughts took place over Northern India between the 10*th* and the 12*th* centuries, and when the magnificent temples, monasteries, and libraries were subjected to the ruthless vandalism of the conquering soldiers, many of the scholars with their valuable manuscripts and whatever objects of art and culture which they could carry with them fled to the mountain fastnesses, towards the extreme north in the Himalayas. Of course, there had been a small trickle of Indian scholars going northwards from the earliest times who were fascinated by the natural beauty as well as the peaceful surroundings of the region so highly conducive to a scholarly or monastic life. But, about this time, the trickle became a torrent. Some of the scholars settled down in Nepal, others more intrepid went farther north to Tibet, taking the treasures of Indian wisdom to the people of these areas. Of the hundreds and thousands who thus travelled north, eighty-four have been canonised and almost deified as Siddhas by the Nepalese as well as by Tibetan tradition. The manuscripts, which they carried with them or wrote originally on the spot or which were copied from the original, have been mostly preserved in Nepal, thanks to the temperate climate of the place. Even if the Muslim invaders had not destroyed them, these would not have been preserved so well over the centuries in the tropical humidity of India. This is the considered opinion of modern Indologists who are surprised at the freshness of look which these palm-leaves or parchments present to the reader, even today after the passage of several hundred years. These manuscripts, of which only a few have been published and still fewer translated into English or Hindi, should certainly prove very valuable in their contribution to any Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and other Asian civilizations. To illustrate how this may be effected, the following is a very brief description of a few of the manuscripts which have come down from the collections of the royal libraries of Nepal and are presently housed in the National Archives in Kathmandu.

(1) *Skandapurana* is a palm-leaf manuscript written on 247 folios. It is written in Gupta characters. There are five to seven lines on a page. The date of the writing has been given as 234 Saka Samvat which would be equivalent to 312 A.D. Western scholars are prone to put the Puranas towards the close of the Gupta era, i.e., the *5th* and the *6th* centuries A.D. But the fact is that this manuscript was copied in the beginning of the *4th* century A.D. when the *Skandapurana* seems already to have been considered as very old, and a part of Hindu tradition. It was, therefore, considered as worth copying on a grand scale; which means that the original *Skandapurana* must have been in existence for at least two or three hundred years before the *4th* century A.D. It places the origin of this Purana to the 1*st* century A.D. Thus, the Puranic Age, as conceived by the majority of Western and Western-oriented historians of India is, by the study of this manuscript, pushed back at one sweep to about five hundred years. This is certainly a historic phenomenon worth further investigation.

(2) *Kirana Tantra* consists of 99 folios of palm-leaves with six lines on a page. The character is older than the oldest Newari, i.e., of the 10*th* century transitional type. It was copied in 924 A.D. The collophon mentions it as belonging to an inhabitant of Bhatagaon (which is about eight miles from the present capital city of Kathmandu) who was a *Bhattapandita* and whose name was Udayapala Soma. It is an original *Tantra,* being an interlocution between *Garuda* and *Bhagavan.* The manuscript has a table of contents. From the table it appears that this manuscript attempted not only to cover the grounds of other *Tantras* but also to guide in entirety the lives of its followers. It is, however, not a *Vaishnava Tantra* as it might appear from the interlocutors. The tenth chapter treats the different forms assumed by Shiva, and this work goes on to mention 18 rudras and 18 cults corresponding to the various practices.

In as much as this *Tantra* tries to lay down complete regulations to govern social practices for the entire body-politic, an investigation into it might reveal many details of the cultural history and civilization of the period not only in Nepal but also in Eastern India. At this time, when Hindu society was very much in turmoil and when Hinduism was coming into its own, Buddhists were quite strong in this part of India, specially with their own brand of *Tantric* practices.

(3) *Chanda Maharoshana Tantra* consists of 55 folios written on parchment. The script is Newari. The copying is comparatively new, but:

(a) *Chanda Maharoshana Tantra Panjika* which is a *Panjika* or *Tika* or a commentary on the *Chanda Maharoshana Tantra,* written on 34 folios of palm-leaves, pierced through by one hole towards the left, with lines 8, 9, or 10 of Newari character on a page and with 1000 slokas in extent, is dated to Newari Samvat 417, i.e., 1297 A.D.

The commentary indicates how the Buddhist and Hindu *Tantric* practices were at this period sometimes alternating and sometimes intermingling in the social structure of the peoples in Eastern India. This phenomenon is also evidenced by:

(b) *Pratisthana Tantra,* dated Newari Samvat 254 or 1134 A.D. It is a Hindu *Tantra* written in old Newari script on palm-leaves with 6 lines on a page.

(4) *Charyacharyatika* is written on 69 folios of palm-leaves pierced through by one hole towards the left with 5 lines on a page. The number of slokas is 1300. The date is not given. The character is Bengali. The language is at places Sanskrit and at places a mixture of old Bengali and Maithili. The book would form a most interesting study of the linguistic side of Eastern Indian culture in the 10*th,* 11*th,* and 12*th* centuries A.D. Although a preliminary survey was already made by Haraprasad Shastri which was mainly in its contents an interpretation of the *Sahajayana* sect of Buddhism, it seems that a more detailed investigation into it specially from the angle of cultural history might be amply rewarding.

(5) *Doha-Kosha* written on palm-leaves is also, like *Charyacharyatika,* a collection of songs in the then vernaculars of Eastern India, and it would certainly be worth detailed study, specially its relationship to the development of the linguistic culture of Eastern India.

(6) *Bhairavananda Natakam* is a play written in Newari character on one hundred folios of palm-leaves with 4 lines to a page. This is a secular drama enacted on the occasion of the wedding of Jayadharma Malla Deva, son of Jayasthiti Mall and Queen Rajalla Devi, in the 14*th* century A.D. A study of this play would bring into light many a minute picture of the social customs of not only Nepal but also of Northern India, before they were aculturated into Islam.

(7) We may also include in this list the *Dhoortasamagama Natakam,* a comic play, written about the same period on 13 folios of palm-leaves, even though some of the leaves have been lost and some others are greatly tattered.

This brief survey through a few of the ancient manuscripts available in Nepal is important in order to stress the role that they could play in the writing of a Sourcebook. Of course, this would entail a good bit of patient research work, as the number of these manuscripts, on palm-leaves and on parchment, number over 5000 in the National Archives alone, apart from the ones in the different private collections.

S. T. LOKHANDWALLA

Arabic Sources and Some Lesser Known Ismaili Material

WEST Asian civilizations date back to a few thousand years before the Christian era. The area, even before the dawn of what are called Semetic religions, was the birth place of many "Ancient-World" civilizations and cultures, such as the ancient Egyptians, Phœnecians, Hittites, Elamites, Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, Assyrians and others. Although the Egyptian civilization is geographically in Africa, yet it is included within the Asian fold because throughout its history it has closer affinities with Asia in almost all of its aspects. The attempt at a union of Egypt and Syria in recent years has been one of many such manifestations which have been occurring throughout its history.

Therefore, for the purposes of a Sourcebook, we should include all these West Asian civilizations which have to be viewed from a different angle. Whatever we know of these civilizations thus far has been generally from a Western viewpoint, i.e., the Greek and Latin civilizations were the highest pinnacle—the sum-total of the Ancient World—and Europe has been both an heir to and product of those civilizations. But despite the avowed goals of being objective in the study of history, there has been an over-emphasis on certain aspects at the expense of others. For instance, it is seldom stressed that European civilization, in the religious aspects, is a product of both the Semetic Christians and Greek thought. Again, it is rarely mentioned that Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia were closer to India than to Greece and Rome, specially because there were present the well-trodden land routes which had served the purpose of both commerce as well as military strategy. But scholars have closely studied more of what the Greeks knew about India than about the Indian contacts with West Asia. The works of Pliny, "Periplus", Strabo, Herodotous, Ptolemy, Megasthenes, and others clearly indicate that West Asia was an important link between India and Europe for reasons of commerce and trade. Besides, both the dented coast of the Indian

Ocean—on the Indian sub-continent, Persian and Arabian coastal regions—and the regularity of the 'winds' had encouraged shipping. These sea-faring activities in pre-Islamic times between the two regions is supported by many well-known evidences which need not be repeated here.

The material for the Indo-West Asian relations after Islam is specially profuse. We have scores of geographical treatises and travellers' accounts giving first-hand descriptions of the Indian sub-continent; such as that of *Buzurg b. Shahriyar, Sulayman* the Merchant, *Abu Zajd Sayrafi, Mas'udi, Ibn Hawqal, Idrisi, Ibnu'l-Faqih al., Hamdani, Istakhri, Ibn Rusta, Ibn Khurdaehih al-Bakri,* etc. Besides geographical works, we have many histories which provide information about India, as for example, *Baladhari, Tabari, Yaqubi, Ilu'l-Athir,* and *Ibnu'l-Kathir,* etc. Local histories of the Persian Gulf area and South Arabia can also provide some data, which includes such encyclopædic works as *Qalqshandi's Subha'i-a'sha, Nuwayri's Nihayatu'k-Arab, Isfahani's K. Aghani* and numerous others. All these sources have only partially been exploited and need to be thoroughly scrutinized. The following are some instances of this evidence:

(i) It is well-known that *Ibnu'l-Muqaffa* was the first to put before his readers the Arabic version of the *Fables of Bidpai* in his *K. Kalila wa dimna.* But his other books abound in similar Indian quotations, and the works of *Ibn Qutayba, Jahiz* and others are also important in this respect.

(ii) Books pertaining to Greek and Indian philosophies and sciences were translated by Christian and Indian scholars and the *Bhala, Manak, Bazigar* etc. were respected names among knowledgeable Arab circles. There was a time, when Indian sciences had competed with the Greek. Islam would have taken a different turn, had it not been for the early political and religious dependence on the West, and the "Philosophical bend of Islam would have been more Indianized than Hellenized". To illustrate, earlier on, there were Arab attempts to trace the descent of the people of Sind and Hind from the progeny of the Prophet Noah. They had said that *Qut* the son of *Misray'im,* the son of *Kush,* the son of *Ham,* the son of *Noah* settled with his people in India, and that Indians were his descendents. In another myth, Indians were said to have descended from Ayyub (Job), (Arab equivalent of Aditya?).

(iii) There is a large amount of early biographical material in Arabic, from which one may see what role Indians or the people connected with India have played in different spheres of Arab life. In the early nineteenth century a laudable attempt was made by Maulvi Abdul Hayy of Lucknow to collect, in the first volume of his *Nuzhatu'l-Khuwatir,* life sketches of well-known Indians or those with Indian connections from the first century of Hijra to the seventh century. There are about 140 biographies, and the persons selected are either litterateurs, traditionalists or religious luminaries. To take one instance, *Nuzhatu'l-Khawatir* devotes a page to the life of *Abu Musa Isra'il b. Musa al Hindi* (who lived in the first half of the second century Hijra). The name indicates that he was originally a Jewish convert to Islam, and a trader with predominently Indian connections. He was a traditionalist and, hence, his brief biographical sketch occurs. The sources of *Nuzhatu'l-Khawatir* are, *Sahihu'l-Bukhari, Tahdhibu't-Tahadhib* of *Ibn Hajar al 'Asqalani, Kitabul-jarh wa'l-ta'dil* of *Abu'l Hatim ar-Razi,* and *K. al-Ansab* of *Sam'ani.* But one can also find references to him for further information in *al-Ta'rikhu'l-Kabir* of *al-Bukhari, K. Al-Kuna* of *Ad-Dwalabi, K. al-Jam'bayn Rijalis-Sahihayn* of *Muqaddasi, Mizanu'l-'tidab* of *Adh-Dhahabi, Fathu'l-Bari* and *Taqrib* of *Ibn Hajar al 'Asqalani* and so on. The authorities claim that *Abu Isra'il* used to visit India often, and had even held discourses there.

(iv) There were many Indians who had high connections in the political and administrative circles of the Early Abbasids. We find that *Sindi b. Shahik* was very close to the Abbasid Caliph, *Mansur,* and his two brothers had also occupied important adminstrative positions. *Abu Haritha al-Hindi,* about the same time, was the chief treasurer. The Jats (*Zutts*) and *Sayabijah* are said to have been settled during the reign of *Mu'awiyah* (49 A.H.) in Basra, its adjoining coastal lands and Antioch. One *Simaqu'l-Basri,* during the period of the early Abbasids, is mentioned as chief of the trading Jat community in the region.

(v) Indian trade, as stated earlier had always been of great importance and significance for West Asian economy from early times, and more so after the Arab supremacy in the area. It had given rise to a very flourishing trading community having long-standing relations with India. Europe had always been dependent on West Asian territories for its trade relations with India. This was largely in terms of transit-trade, re-exporting of oriental goods which were brought from the Indian Ocean to Egypt. The archives of the cities of Mediterranean Europe and some of the leading 'old kingdoms' of Italy, France and Spain have preserved records concerning their trade with the countries of the Southern and Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, especially after the 12*th* century. Recently, in the so-called *Cairo-Geniza,* were found a collection of records, mostly in Arabic language but written in Hebrew characterers, providing interesting information about this international trade in the 11*th* & 12*th* centuries. These documents are now dispersed in many libraries of Europe and America and need to be thoroughly examined. A preliminary and cursory study by S. D. Goitein in his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* shows the richness of this material, and enables us to assess the important role which Indian goods had played in the international economy of that period.

II

(i) *Brief Ismaili History*

The Ismailis, before they established their kingdom in North Africa, had carried out subtle and ingenious propaganda in different parts of the Arab kingdom for more than half a century. They had succeeded to attract a good number of adherents in several regions. North Africa, Yemen, Syria, Bahrayn and Khurasan had been their strong centres and it was expected that any one of those places would transform itself into an independent kingdom with this new political ideology. They had not failed to influence some of the ruling princes to gain their allegiance to a new politico-religious approach from the one that was then prevalent. The attempts to convert *Samanid Nasr b. Ahmad* (250-279/864-892) may have failed, but they attracted quite a few petty princes in Daylam, Yemen and Bahrayn. However, where their political support was the least or totally absent, they had taken to trades to avoid suspicion. Even the leader of the movement *'Abdullah al-Mahdi,* who lived in Salamiya, was a trader. Besides, trade was the only source for getting any monetary support for the movement.

Thus, because of the centres in Yemen, Daylam and Bahrayn, these must have brought them in close contact with Indian trade. *Nu'man* in his *Iftitahu'd-Da'wa* (compiled in Muharram 346 A. H./April 957) speaks about the Ismaili mission in Yemen before their political establishment in North Africa. The Ismaili mission in Yemen started about the sixties of the third century Hijra. *Nu'man* states that the head of the mission *Abu'l-Qasim Hasan b. Farh b. Hawshab,* popularly known as *Mansuru'l-Yaman,* soon after successfully entrenching himself in Yemen sent the son of his brother *al-Haytham* as a missionary to *biladus-Sind.* (This could only have happened with proper commercial and other relations, between the two regions.) He goes on to say, "Many people responded to the mission in Sind and to-day, (i.e. hundred years after the first missionary was named), the mission is well spread there". He also says that it was from Yemen that missions were sent to Yamama, Bahrayn, Sind and Hind.

The Arabs reached Makran, a part of the kingdom of Sind very early, within forty years of the death of the Prophet. They had received, probably, aid from the Jats and Meds who were not quite well treated by the rulers of Sind. We have referred before to the official settlements of Jats in Basrah and Antioch. However, Makran was not a very thriving region. Surrounded by the mountainous tracts in the North and the desert of Lot on the North-West, it was economically very dependent on the rest of Sind. There was the alleged plunder of an Arab ship by the pirates of Sind and by the end of the first century Hijra, the Arabs had occupied the kingdom of Sind upto Multan. The two fortified towns of *Mahfuza* and *Mansurah* were founded in the manner of other *Amsars* of West Asia. However, since Islamic law was as yet in its infancy, and the subtle differentiations of the later times had not yet evolved, the treatment meted out to the people of the newly acquired territory was not different from what it was to the Jews and Christians of Arabia, and in areas of conquered Byzantium. *Muhammad b. Qasim,* the hero of Sind, in keeping with the old

Arab conventions of wars in Syria and Iran, proclaimed: "The temples shall be inviolate like the churches of the Christians and the synagogues of the Jews and the altars of the Magians." As the early Arabs had done in other parts, here also they had to necessarily employ indigenous people to look after administration. Brahmins were appointed as revenue officers and were commanded to deal honestly and equitably with the people; while the revenues were recommended to be fixed in accordance with the subjects ability to pay.

The Umayyad dynasty came to an end by the first quarter of the second century Hijra and a new dynasty of the Abbasids (132/750) took over. Abbasids were opposed to both the Umayyads whom they had ousted and the *'Alids* who were their rivals for claim in succession to the Caliphate. The Abbasid governors took over the control of Sind but there seems to have been hostility between the old Arab settlers and the new comers. The reports of serious clashes between the *Nizari* or the North Arabian tribes, and Yemeni tribes in the regions of Sind probably refers to the conflict between the old and new Arab settlers espousing different political causes.

The Abbasid persecution of *'Alids* dispersed the descendents of *'Ali* and their supporters in different regions, and we are told by the travellers that both *Mansura* and *Multan* had a good number of these descendents. We find that the Arab political rivalries echo in the distant regions of the empire albeit on a miniature scale.

By 871 A. D., the Abbasids were weakening and were more interested in keeping their western domains. In the eastern regions independent kingdoms and dynasties grew up. The *Tahirids, Saffarids* and *Samanids* only owed a nominal allegiance to Baghdad. About the same time, the Ismaili pockets in Bahrayn and Yemen were getting strong, and Sind came under the Ismaili influence from these areas.

(ii) *Ismaili Sources*

Ismaili sources on India are dispersed in several manuscripts. The earliest mention we find is in the contemporary compilations of *Qadi Nu'man,* the official law-giver of the Ismailis. He served the first four Fatimid Caliphs; from *'Abdullah al-Mahdi* to *Mu'izz* (296-365/907-975). We also come across references to Ismaili *dawa* in Sind by the middle of the fourth century of Hijra. *Qudi Nu'man's al-Majalis wa'l Musa'irat wa'd Mawaqif wa'l-Tawqi'at* is an important contemporary source. It is a kind of Boswellian account kept by the author of his associations with the fourth Fatimid Caliph, *al-Mu'izz li-dini'llah.* The author says in the preface to his book, "In this book there is all that I heard from *al-Mu'izz li-dini'llah,* of his wisdom, instructions, knowledge as expressed by him in conversations with him or at his assemblies while in residence or travelling". This book is in four big volumes, and provides a variety of information on different matters relating to early Ismailism and the

Fatimid rule. The establishment of an Indian mission in Sind also comes within his perview.

K. Al-Majalis wa'l-Musa'irat contains many of the official decrees and letters of *al-Mu'izz.* In one of his volumes he talks about the official intervention in the affairs of Sind.

It appears that the first Ismailis who occupied Sind were connected with the *Qaramita* movement of Bahrayn. The official Ismailis came into conflict with *Qaramita* for some reason or the other even though, formerly, they appeared to have been part and parcel of the bigger Ismaili movement. The efforts of the Egyptian or the Fatimid government were confined to eliminate the *Qaramita* leader and put in his place its own *Da'i* in Sind. This seems to have been accomplished by the year 354 A.H. It was the official Ismaili *Da'i, Halam b. Shayban,* who had succeeded in wresting power in the region. The letter of *al-Mu'izz* addressed to this *Da'i* on 19*th* of Ramadan 354/Sept. 965, is reproduced in *Nu'man's* book.

The letter, besides informing about the manner by which Fatimid *Da'i* took over the territory, tells us about the social conditions of the region. The *Da'i,* who is removed, is accused of permitting the local Muslims to practise the customs and conventions of non-Muslims. The local practices objected to are the dietary habits and the marriage laws and customs. These are claimed to be contrary to the *Shari'a.* The reasons indicated for the removal of the *Da'i* do not appear to be genuine. For the orthodox Muslims, the Ismailis were no different from the *Qaramita* and were always branded for their alleged scant respect of the *Shari'a* laws. *Al-Mu'izz's* epistle approving the political takeover for such ostentatious reasons seems more for popular benefit and for demonstrating that the Ismailis were no less orthodox in their zeal for Islam. It rather points to the fact that the life of the Muslims, in this part, even after two centuries, was no different from the rest of the people. We have evidence of this from other sources also. Both *al-Mas'udi* and *Ibn Hawqal,* who visited the regions, speak of very amicable and friendly relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. *Ibn Hawqal,* who was an Ismaili himself, says that the Amir of Multan lived outside the town and only entered it on Fridays for congregational prayers, riding an elephant. He says that Muslim rulers of the region, dressed in the manner of the local Indian rulers had sported a similar sort of beard. About the dress of the people, he says that it was generally loose with waistbands because of the heat and that there was no difference between the dress of the Arabs and non-Arabs. Sindhi and Arabic, he also informs us, was generally used as the language.

Mansura and *Multan* continued to owe allegiance to the Fatimids for another century. Mahmud of Gazna, in two of his raids, destroyed the power of the Ismaili principalities and *Multan* was finally taken over by Muhammad Ghori.

There have been compilations during these periods by Ismaili *savants* like *Razi, Hamidu'ddin Kirmani* and *Mu'ayyad fi'd-din Shirazi.* A proper scrutiny of their works may provide us with useful information about the relations of the Fatimids with this far flung region which owed allegiance to them.

After the fall of the Ismaili principalities in India, Ismaili adherents in Northern India kept up their relationship with the Eastern section, whereas the Western Ismaili influence was supreme with its adherents in Gujarat. This was made possible because of their stronghold in Yemen towards the end of the fifth century of Hijra.

'Uynu'l Akhbar, a sectarian history written by one of the Yemeni Ismaili *Da'i, Idris 'Imadu'ddin* gives information about the relationship between the Indian adherents of the faith and the Yemeni headquarters. There are many works composed by Indian adherents which could add to our knowledge of commercial and other relations between South Arabia and the Western Coast of India. Besides, there are regional histories of Yemen, and other biographical works, which supplement and scrutinize the information derived from the sectarian sources, (e.g. *Khazraji, 'Ammaratu'l-Yamani, Shawkani, Sakhawi,* etc.).

In Gujarat, the Ismaili form of Islam was one of the earliest to enter in a recognizable form, because of the trade relations of Gujarat with South Arabia, the superior economic condition of the traders from these parts, the preferential treatment received by them from the rulers and the disturbed relationship of the Hindus with the Jain-dominated ruling sections during the reigns of Solanki, Siddhraj Jaisingh, Kumarpal, etc. All this must have helped towards the organization of a separate section whose nominal recognition of a religious head so far away in Egypt—besides landing a feeling of enchantment and escape—was not going to unduly disturb the social pattern and the ways of their living. Even the first missionaries of the Western and Eastern Ismailis, according to their own sources, accepted Indian ways of life and had even adopted Indian names. An examination of the accounts of the early Bohra community in Gujarat, interesting in itself, would also enlighten us on Indian trade which was carried on with South Arabia and the Persian Gulf area in the 11*th,* 12*th* and 13*th* centuries. There are many compositions of this period, however sectarian and religious they might be, which touch upon many mundane topics of communal life. Thus, all these sources may help us in understanding the behavioural patterns of the early converts, and the conditions of Indian society.*

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* During the discussions, the following points were made:

i. A Rashtrakuta Copper Plate inscription from *Chinchani,* dated to 926 A.D. throws light on the relations between the Rashtrakutas and the Arabs. *Tajika* was the name given to Arabs by Indians.

ii. The process of indigenization or Indianization be examined not only in the context of this paper but also in general. This is very important for us.

MOMIN MOHIUDDIN

Central Asian and Persian Sources : A Note

THE utilization of Central Asian and Persian sources is abundant if we stretch the limit of Ancient India to cover the period of the establishment of Ghaznavid rule in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, (994 to 1041). It would give us the unrestricted use of contemporary material from Arabic and Persian sources for our purpose. Some of these are briefly enumerated below:

1. Among the Arab and Persian writers on Ancient India we have first, in the order of chronological precedence, *Tabari Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir* (A.D. 839-923) the great historian, and the Arab merchant *Sulayman al-Tajir* of *Siraf* on the Persian Gulf, the account of whose journeys into the Far East was written by an anonymous author in 851. *Sulayman* in his *Silsila al-tawarikh* also refers to the Arab friendship of the *Balhara Rajas* of *Mankair* (i.e. Mankhet sixty miles from Sholapur), and their hostility towards the kings of *Juzr* (Gujarat). The Konkan (Komkam) was at that time one of the dependencies of the *Balharas*, as is attested by the great Arab historian *Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali al-Mas'udi* who came to Chaul (*Saymur*) in 915.

2. We learn from *Abu Zayd*, another traveller from *Siraf* on the Persian Gulf about the *Raja* of *Qinnauj*, and the other wonders about India. *Ibn Khurdadhbih* (circa 912), a pioneer writer of the first independent geographical treatise in Arabic and of Persian descent describes, like his follower *Ibn Hawqal* (fl. 943-77), the various articles that formed the trade of the Western coast with the lands beyond the Indian Ocean. Amongst these, he mentions specially teak wood which was being exported from Sindan (Sanjan in Gujarat) to *Khatif*. From Konkan, the land of teak-sag, as the Sicilian geographer *Idrisi* (1135) calls it, bamboos were also sent for house-building purposes in the Persian Gulf. These were in so great a demand among the Arabs that they were known as *al-Khatif* bamboos, named after the town on the mainland near Bahrayn Island. *Khayzran* was another name for bamboo in Arabic and this became so popular with the Arabs that it was used as a proper name, metaphorically given to their slim-statured and tall beloveds.

3. *al-Istakhri* was another Persian born geographer from *Istakhr* (Persepolis), who lived about 950 and compiled his famous *Masalik al-mamalik.* His description of the *baniyas* is as interesting as that of the Persian sea-captain *Buzurg b. Shariyar* of *Ramhurmuz* in his curious work on the *Marvels of India.* This *Nakhuda* visited the Konkan ports several times.

4. Persian life and culture obtained a new lease of life under the *Abbasids* of Baghdad. One of the characteristic features of this era was the birth of Persian letters, and the rise of national dynasties of Persian origin. The *Tahirid* period (A.D. 820-872) first witnessed the blossoming of Persian poetry, but it flowered only in the succeeding period under the *Samanids* (A.D. 820-998). This was the period of progress of Persian prose also.

Attached to the court of the *Samanids* was *ibn-Muhalhal,* who is alleged to have travelled to India (Chaul in Kolaba District) with the Ambassador of China in the year 941. His whole narrative, unfortunately—though not extant—is regurgitated by later writers like *Zakariya Qazvini* and *Yaqut ibn'Abd-Allah al-Hamavi* (1179-1229). They speak of *Saymur* (Chaul), its inhabitants, its products and its socio-religious conditions.

It was during this period that the *Samanid* vizier *Abu'Ali al-Balami* (d. 996) translated *Tabari's* remarkable and accurate chronicle *Akhbar al-Rusul v'l-muluk* into Persian, which is one of the earliest important prose works in that language.

5. Belonging to this period, we also have an excellent geographical work—one of the earliest Persian prose works like the preceding one—by an anonymous author, the *Hudud al-alam.* This work, which began in 372/982-83, was dedicated to one of the *Samanids'* vassals, the *Farighunids* of *Guzgan.* The *Hudud al'alam* is notable for its historical information about the kingdoms of India, Tibet, Nepal and China. It gives interesting details about the cities and towns on the Indian coasts, for example: Malabar, *Subara*=Sopara, *Sindan*=Sanjan, *Samur*=Chaul, *Kambaya*=Cambay, etc. It also speaks of the products of these towns such as, *jauz-i-Hindi*=coco-nuts (*vide*: *Abu Zayd Sirafi*), *mauz*=bananas, *khayzran*=bamboo[1], *nayza*=rotang (*vide*: *Idrisi* also). As regards the social and geographical conditions of this region, we come to know from its content that people in the Konkan region used to have long hairs (*muy-i-furu-hista*) and *izar* at all seasons (*yak izar bashand ba har vaqti*). "In Kambaya shoes (*na'layn*) were produced, which were exported to all the countries of the world." (Compare also *Idrisi,* Elliot I, pp. 85-9).

6. Of the Ghaznavid sources, we may mention the histories of *'Utbi* and *Bayhaqi.* Special information regarding the Indian military traditions may be gleaned from these sources, since it was from India that Ghaznavid rulers learnt the use of elephants as an important part of their army's fighting material.

Abu Rayhan Muhammad al-Biruni (973-1050) links the name of the Afghans, living in the Western frontier mountains of India, with the Asvaka 'horse people' of Gandhara in the Mahabharata. His *Tahqiq ma li'l-Hind* written in Arabic is a significant contribution to the knowledge of Indian culture, sciences, beliefs and customs.

7. In this respect, a passing reference must be made of a much later work, that of the great Mongol minister *Rashid al-Din Fadl-Allah's Jami'al-tawarikh,* in which, like the India of *al-Biruni,* considerable attention has been paid to the Indian epochs, "the Yugas".

8. The encyclopædic works of *Abu 'Abd-Allah Khwarizmi* and *Ibn-Nadim,* and the *Mafatih al-'ulum* (comp. 976) of *al-Khwarizmi* (from *Khwarizm* in Central Asia) are important. In a chapter of the latter, on the "scholastic philosophy" (*kalam*), he discusses the various Indian schools and sects. The *al-Fihrist* (comp. 988) of *Ibn-Nadim* describes in the *Ninth Discourse* (*Section ii*) "the sundry strange and curious Sects of India and China". *Ibn-Nadim* also mentions the *Kitab al-Budd* and the *Kitab Budasf,* both of these which relate to the life of Buddha, were apparently translated into Arabic from a Pahlavi original.

9. The *Kitab al-aghani* of *Abu'l-Faraj al-Isbahani* (967) contains an interesting portrayal of the Buddhist view of life. (The *Zindiq* monks mentioned by the encyclopædist *al-Jahiz* [A.D. 898-99] in his *Kitab al-Hayawan,* vol. iv, were either the Indian *sadhus* or the Buddhist *Bhikhshus. al-Jahiz* also admires Indian sculpture in his *Kitab al-Hayawan*). In this respect, a mention must be made of the Persian *sufi* martyr *al-Hallaj* (A.D. 922), who is alleged to have visited India (as reports *Ibn Miskawayh*), in order to learn the 'rope trick'.

10. The poetry of the Ghaznavid period is rich with historical information. The verses of the court-laureates *'Unsuri* (d. 1030-40) and *Farrukhi* may be used for locating material regarding *Mahmud's* several military campaigns and incursions into India. *Farrukhi,* who accompanied the Sultan on his Somnath expeditions, has left vivid pictures of castles, fortresses, temples, idols and of the different places in India. In this connection, significant data and ethnological information about the immigrant *Prabhus* from Kathiawar and Gujarat, settling down in Konkan after the sack of Somnath, given in the *Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh* by *'Izz al-Din ibn al-Athir* (1160-1234), cannot also be overlooked.

11. *Manuchihri* (d. circa 1040-41) and *Sana'i* occasionally refer in their verses to the *linghan* or the worship of *linga.* There are stray references in the great epic, the *Shahnama* of *Firdausi* to the customs and folk-lore of Ancient India.

12. The poetry of the last Ghaznavid poet, *Mas'ud-i-Salman* (d. 1121) is significant for a sociological study because it contains, like the *Shahnama,* ethnological information and glimpses of social conditions in India.

NOTE

1. Idrisi refers to a kind of drug called *tabashir* which was made from the inner rind of the bamboo in Thana. *Abu'l-Fida* speaks of a locally made silk called *tanasi* chemically made with the *tabashir* and the rind of sugarcane.

H. K. MIRZA

On Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian Sources

(i) *The Avesta:*

The term Avesta is generally applied to the oldest scriptures of the Zoroastrians, and is an important source of ethical and spiritual values [Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan colloquium, paper by self (pp. 75-8) Bombay, 1967]. It is derived from the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) term *apastak*, 'the foundation text,' as distinguished from *Zend* 'commentary, exposition'. The Avesta represents the oldest Iranian language now known to us, and it belongs to the Iranian group of the Ancient Aryan family of languages. The Iranian languages, in all stages of their development, may be divided into two main groups: (1) East Iranian, and (2) West Iranian. The Avesta belongs to the East Iranian group of languages while the Old Persian (6*th* century B.C. to 4*th* century B.C.), Middle Persian (3*rd* century B.C. to 7*th* century A.D.), and Modern Persian (7*th* century onwards) belong to the West Iranian group. The close linguistic and grammatical affinity of the Avesta with Vedic Sanskrit is universally recognized, and the Avesta is regarded as a sister-language to Vedic Sanskrit. (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*)

(a) *The contents:*

The Avesta, as we possess it at present, is but a small portion of an extensive literature that was in existence in Sassanian times (226-641 A.D.). There were 21 books of the Avesta, containing religious and secular matters. At present we have only about a fifth part of the Avesta of the Sassanian times.

About the 4*th* century, the Avesta was translated into Pahlavi, the state language of the time, and the commentaries were added thereto.

The extant Avesta may be divided into five groups as follows:

i. *Yasna,* including the *Gathas*
ii. *Visparat*
iii. *Videvdat*

iv. *Yashts*
v. *Khurdeh Avesta.*

The *Yasna* (Sanskrit *yagna* sacrifice, offering) is a liturgical text, and it is recited in the *Yasna* a ceremony of high order. It has 72 chapters including 17 cantos of the *Gathas* (Sanskrit *gatha*). As the name indicates, the *Gathas* are holy hymns, and they were composed by the Prophet Zoroaster himself. The *Gathas* are poetic compositions, containing highly philosophical and spiritual teachings, and ethical tenets. The metrical structure of the *Gathas* bear some resemblance to that of the Vedas.

The *Visparat* (23 chapters) is also a ritual text, and it is particularly recited in ceremonies connected with seasonal festivals. *Videvdat* is mainly the priestly code and ecclesiastical law books. There are at present available 22 *Yashts,* with some fragments. The *Yashts* bear the characteristics of epic literature, and they contain invocatory hymns, poetic pieces (of eight-syllable lines, common in Sanskrit), vivid descriptions, heroic episodes, and legends containing important historical elements. The *Khurdeh* Avesta, or the select Avesta, is the daily prayer book of the Zoroastrians containing, among other prayers, the litanies to the spiritual beings presiding over the sun (Avesta *havar,* Sanskrit *surya*), light (Av. *mithra,* Skt. *mitra*), the moon (Av. *mah*), water (Av. *ardvi*), and fire (Av. *atar*).

(b) *The Original Home-Land :*

In the Avesta, the original home-land of the Aryan people is known as *airyana vaejah* (later *eranvej*) or simply *airyana, airya* (Skt. *arya*). Later, from this Avesta term was derived *eran, iran,* the name of the country. Besides this, the ancient term survives at present also in other place-names: Eire, Ire (Land), Iron (in the Caucasus), Irian (in Indonesia), and Arran (in Iran and also in Scotland).

The Avesta contains three important statements in connection with the original home-land (*Videvdat* 2):

(1) "There were ten months of severe winter, two of summer",
(2) "The sun rose and set once in the year",
(3) "A day was regarded as a year".

It states that the ancient home-land was 'the greatest joy-giving land', a veritable paradise on earth. But at a later stage, 'winter created by the demons' was introduced. This is referred to also as 'the evil winter'. This evidently suggests an event like a glaciation or Ice Age. A similar cataclysmic event is referred to also in Sanskrit texts as *pralaya:* and as 'deluge' in the Biblical account. (See the important book by B. G. Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas;* Poona, Bombay, 1903).

Thus, the Avesta states that king *Yima* (Vedic *Yama,* later *Jam, Jamshid*) extended the land thrice towards the South, on the path of the sun. This evidently refers to the migrations of the people southwards in the warmer regions from the original home-land, after the glacial epoch. The theory of migrations is further supported by the Avesta (quoted in Pahlavi *Videvdat* 1.4):

"There are seven months of summer and five of winter."

Evidently this refers to the land further south, somewhere in Central Asia, on the banks of the Oxus, most probably ancient Khorazmia (modern Khiva). It appears that this was the land of the *Kayanian* kings and of the Avesta people.

(c) *The Avesta and the Vedas:*

Parallel and corresponding names, phrases, terms, epithets, ideas, concepts, legends and myths are found in the Avesta and the Vedas. This subject has been ably treated by S. K. Hodivala in his valuable work: *Indo-Iranian Religion* (Bombay 1925). The terms for family relations, limbs of the body and also for other important subjects are identical or similar in the Avesta and the Vedas. For instance, there are the well-known examples of the mention of Indian rivers in the Avesta. It (*Yasna* 57-29) mentions the place-name *hindu* —the land of a river the 'Indus'—the province of Sindh. The Avesta word corresponds to Sanskrit *sindhu* 'a river'. The Avesta (*Videvdat* 1.19) mentions also *hapta hindu* 'the land of the seven rivers', corresponding to Sanskrit *sapta sindhu.* In this case Avesta *hindu* is used just in the same sense as Sanskrit *sindhu* 'a river'. The term 'seven rivers' refers to the seven tributaries of the Indus, and the land of these seven rivers is in the upper regions of the Indus—particularly the Panjab of undivided India.

Among other names may be mentioned Avesta *harakhvatti* (*Videvdat* 1. 13, the land of Arachosia), which philologically corresponds to Sanskrit *sarasvati* 'having ponds, abounding in lakes', the name of a divinity—a guardian of waters. Further, in Avesta also appear Rangha, Sanskrit *Rasa* 'moisture, humidity'—the name of a celestial river.

(ii) *Old Persian and Archæological Sources:*

The Iranian empire of the Achæmenians' was founded by Cyrus the Great (559-529 B.C.), a celebrated figure in world history. He is mentioned in the Old Testament as the Messiah, the anointed of the Lord. The other celebrated Achæmenian emperors were Darius the Great (521-486 B.C.), Xerxes I (486-465 B.C.), and Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.). These emperors, particularly Darius, have left in Iran a number of cuneiform inscriptions on rock surfaces, palace walls, columns, gold and silver plaques, and on stone and clay tablets. Generally, they are trilingual, and inscribed in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian languages—which were the important languages of the Empire. Old Persian belongs to the language group of South-Western Iran.

Important evidence of archæological, historical, cultural, and religious interest has also been found in Central Asia. In the beginning of this century, innumerable ancient manuscripts (mostly in fragmentary condition) were discovered at Turfan in Central Asia. These manuscripts are written in various Middle Iranian languages and dialects—Sogdian, Saka, Parthian, Persian and in the various other scripts. The Middle Persian and Middle Parthian texts are written in the Estrangelo-Syriac script, Sogdian texts are in Syriac and Sogdian scripts, and the Saka texts are in modified Brahmi script. Middle Iranian would also include Bactrian languages written in the Greek script.

These manuscripts have been preserved in the University Library of Berlin, the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris, the British Museum of London, and the University Library of Leningrad. Most of these have already been published, translated, and explained by various scholars. In brief, they contain not only individual texts, but also parallel texts written in two or more Middle Iranian and other languages. There are also translations of some Sanskrit texts. These manuscripts appertain to Buddhist, Christian, and Mandæan religions.

(iii) *Pahlavi :*

(a) *Literature :*

The term Pahlavi is derived from Old Persian *parthava,* name of the people of an ancient province in North-Eastern Iran. The Old Persian term is cognate with Sanskrit *parthiva* royal, princely, 'lord of the earth'. Most probably, foreign peoples living in India and mentioned in Sanskrit as *Parasika* and *Parthava* were the Iranian peoples, and they represented the peoples of the provinces of Pars and Parthava of Ancient Iran.

Pahlavi language is derived from Old Persian language. It had flourished in various forms for about 1200 years—from about the *3rd* century B.C. to about the *9th* century A.D. It was the state language of the Parthians and the Sassanians, and it was also the religious language of the Zoroastrians in Sassanian times. It flourished among the Zoroastrian priests even after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire up to the *9th* century. Pahlavi language, in its various forms, has been preserved in the inscriptions, on the coins, seals and bullæ, parchments, documents, and manuscripts. The evidence is concerned mostly with historical matters. The manuscript-Pahlavi, (generally known as Book-Pahlavi) deals mainly with Zoroastrian religion, history and cultural traditions.

During Sassanian times, Iran had come in close contact with India, because of commercial, political and cultural contacts. Historical accounts of Western India, particularly of Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Gujarat indicate Iran's cultural and political relations with India. There is also evidence that some of the Sanskrit books, particularly on philosophy and medicine, were translated into Pahlavi, even though no such translations exist at present.

(b) *Pahlavi Inscriptions in India :*

There are Pahlavi inscriptions on Christan crosses on the various churches of South India, particularly on the cross of Mount Church of St. Thomas, near Madras, and on the cross of Valyapalli church of Kottayam in Travancore. Evidently, these inscriptions bear dedicatory formulæ. There are also ten signatures with attestations in Pahlavi language and in Pahlavi script on a copper plate grant to the Syrian Christian church in Malabar.

These inscriptions in India are undated, but the style of writing suggests that they might have been inscribed in the ninth century, and indicate that these settlements of Christians in India at this time were most probably of immigrants from Iran.

There are, however, three dated Pahlavi inscriptions found in the Buddhist Kanheri caves, in Bombay, containing the names and dates of some Zoroastrians who had visited the caves during the eleventh century. The dates are given in Yazdgardi era of the Zoroastrians, which correspond respectively to 10*th* October 1009, 24*th* November 1009, and 30*th* October 1021.

(iv) *Shahname and Modern Persian Literature :*

Iranian historical traditions have also been handed down by the oral tradition, from generation to generation. There were present professional minstrels and story-tellers since very early times; and they were known as *Gosan* 'minstrel, singer, story-teller'. Professor M. Boyce has written an illuminating article on *Parthian Gosan* (J.R.A.S. 1957, pp. 10-45). As Boyce points out, the word also occurs in Armenian as *Gusan,* and it is used in the Armenian translation of the Bible. According to Boyce, Armenian *Gusanas* included 'drummers, pipers, lyrists, and trumpeters'. Further, the word is used as a loan-word in Georgian in the sense of 'singer', and in Mandaean in the original sense of 'a minstrel-poet' (Boyce, pp. 15, 17).

All these oral-and-written historical traditions were collected by Firdausi (10*th* century) in his Shahname, the *Book of Kings,* the national epic of Iran. Firdausi must have also used *Pahlavi Khvatya-namak,* now lost, and the contributions of the Pahlavi books like *Ayatkar i Zareran and Karnamak i Artakhshir I Papakan.*

Thus, the Shahname and other Modern Persian books are important sources of Ancient Iranian culture and civilization. Moreover, some of the Avesta-Pahlavi texts were translated into Sanskrit around the 12*th* century. At that time, Sanskrit was one of the subjects studied by the Parsi priests, and they had also studied Sanskrit texts on medicine and astronomy.

SUMMARY

SUMMARY*

In the course of its Seventh Business Session the Seminar appointed a Drafting Committee consisting of the following participants, to report to the Seminar its findings on all of the topics discussed:

V. K. Gokak	Chairman
R. C. Majumdar	Member
A. Ghosh	"
D. C. Sircar	"
T. V. Mahalingam	"
B. B. Lal	"
K. D. Bajpai	"
Kapila Vatsyayan	"
S. C. Malik	"

The Drafting Committee prepared the following Statement which was considered and adopted by the Seminar at the Concluding Session, on the morning of 19*th* September, 1970.

1. The Seminar convened by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, at the instance of the Union Ministry of Education and Youth Services, began at 9.30 a.m. on the 13*th* of September 1970. The Seminar was welcomed by the Director, Prof. V. K. Gokak, inaugurated by Dr. Y. S. Parmar, Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh, and was presided over by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, while Shri A. Ghosh moved a 'vote of thanks'.

2. The Seminar held from the 13*th* of September to the 19*th* of September 1970, was organised into Seven Business Sessions, (each day from 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. with lunch, tea and coffee breaks, except only a morning session on the 19*th,* which was the Concluding Session). It covered the following topics in the course of its proceedings:

(1) Ideas about a Sourcebook of Ancient Indian and other Asian Civilizations, and its Methodology.
(2) Utilization of Sources—Literary, Linguistic, Religious and Philosophical.
(3) Utilization of Sources—Regional, Social, Economic and Anthropological.
(4) Utilization of Sources—Outside India.
(5) Utilization of Sources—Fine Arts and Archæology.
(6) Execution of the Plan of a Sourcebook.

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* This is based on the Statement issued at the Concluding Session, with some minor changes, on the morning of 19*th* September, 1970.—Editor.

The Business Sessions were chaired and reported as follows:

	Chairman	*Rapporteur*
1st Business Session (13th September, 1970)	R. C. Majumdar	B. D. Chattopadhyaya
2nd Business Session (14th September, 1970)	V. Raghavan	A. Ghosh
3rd Business Session (15th September, 1970)	D. C. Sircar	B. D. Chattopadhyaya & Baidyanath Saraswati.
4th Business Session (16th September, 1970)	A. N. Upadhaye	S. C. Malik
5th Business Session (Morning 17th September, 1970)	V. N. Mishra	A. Poddar
6th Business Session (Afternoon 17th September, 1970)	B. B. Lal	S. T. Lokhandwalla
7th Business Session (18th September, 1970)	V. K. Gokak	V. N. Mishra
Concluding Session (Morning, 19th September, 1970)	R. C. Majumdar	B. D. Chattopadhyaya

3. Eighteen papers on the various aspects of a Sourcebook were presented to the Seminar in the course of its proceedings. The four main themes which were discussed on the basis of some of these papers, and also independently, are as follows:

I. A Sourcebook of Ancient Indian Civilization.
II. The Cultural Interaction between Indian and Other Asian Civilizations.
III. A Sourcebook or Sourcebooks of Asian Civilization or Asian Civilizations.
IV. Culture and the Asian Tradition.

4. Based on the various discussions and papers, some of the major divergent ideas reflecting the minds of the participants are given below:

(i) It was felt that although there were good histories of the Indian people and their culture, and while good Sourcebooks on certain aspects like *A Sourcebook of Indian Philosophy* by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Professor Moore were available, yet no single comprehensive account of Indian civilization and its particulars as such was available. But there were other productions like the *Hindu World* by Benjamin Walker which were so tendentious that these presented the facts of Indian civilization in a distorted manner.

(ii) The continuous cultural interaction down the ages between India and other parts of the world needed to be studied methodically. Some contributions had indeed been made by eminent Indians, but more work awaited the scholars in this field. A work of this kind could then be presented to the general Indian public.

(iii) The Indian intelligentsia seems to know more about Europe and its problems and achievements than about the neighbouring countries in Asia. But as India was facing problems more or less similar to those which the other countries of Asia were facing, an effort in this direction might help to bring about an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill.

(iv) Lastly, there were many common cultural features which characterized the peoples of Asia. For instance, in the sphere of the visual, plastic, the performing and other fine arts, one may detect common cultural motifs, devices and symbols. Researches had not begun to explore this world of the ancient traditions. It was important to examine some of these common features, more to understand these living traditions which reveal commonness than to seek any unilinear origins. Thus, a study of these traditions would also result in an inter-Asian team work by scholars and hopefully further the cause of understanding and goodwill.

5. The first theme (I) *A Sourcebook of Ancient Indian Civilization* was discussed quite thoroughly. The highlights are given below:

(i) The problems regarding the chronology of this project were strongly debated. There was a general agreement that an account of Indian civilization should begin with 2500 B.C. or, more appropriately, the advent of the Bronze Age. But there was considerable discussion regarding where this account should end. Various views were expressed.[1]

There was a strong opinion that the word 'ancient' should also be interpreted to include the achievements of the Vijayanagara Empire in the South and stretch upto 1565 or 1600 A.D. But it was also equally strongly felt by some others that the developments of Modern India could not be understood properly unless a Sourcebook covered the period upto 1800 A.D. Therefore, the end-date should be kept open; that the word 'ancient' should be dropped, and the Sourcebook should be called *A Sourcebook of Indian Civilization.*

The other view was no less emphatically maintained, that the word 'ancient' should be retained. It was suggested that the word 'ancient' could not be used with any propriety for a period after 700 A.D. There was substantial opinion in favour of regarding 1200 A.D. as the end-date, perhaps supplemented by an account of the continuities of this phase of civilization after 1300 A.D.

It was eventually generally agreed upon that such a Sourcebook may be called A Sourcebook of Indian Civilization, *dropping the term Ancient provided, however, such a project concerned itself with what may be called its first phase.* The question whether the end-date of this phase should be 1200 A.D. or 1300 A.D. or any other date, should be left to the scholars entrusted to do this work.

(ii) As regards the plan of a Sourcebook, it was decided that both the textual and contextual readings from literary and other primary sources in the original and in translation should form the bulk of a Sourcebook. For any untranslated material which was of crucial importance, translations should be made and used. The proportion between these readings and the interpretative material prepared for a Sourcebook should be in the neighbourhood of 2/3: 1/3; 3/4: 1/4; or 95:5%. Some participants also made the suggestion that there should be a separate volume for readings, and another for interpretative material.[2]

(iii) There were various suggestions with regard to the Introduction to such a work. These are as follows:

(a) The relative value of the source-material used in a Sourcebook should be assessed in the Introduction, and the general conceptual approach defined.

(b) The fundamental concepts of Indian culture like *dharma, rita* and the concepts of civilization, geography, history and cosmology should be dealt with in the Introduction.

(c) The scholars contributing to this Sourcebook should observe a uniform chronology.

(d) Maps, illustrations, bibliographies, etc. should be included. But the bibliographies will have to be selective since full documentation might well run into several volumes.

(e) The Introduction should cover a brief survey of political history, the geographical distribution of the civilizational traits, and discuss the nature of civilization in India in terms of its salient features and 'life-styles'—its peak points of excellence, its indebtedness to other civilizations—and the diffusion of certain elements of Indian civilization among other Asian countries, etc. However, whether there should be one 'General Introduction' covering some of these salient topics in sections or independent essays prefatory to a Sourcebook, was a problem of settling the details later on.

(iv) The approach to the cultural materials constituting a Sourcebook should be multi-disciplinary. All available material should be used in preparing a Sourcebook, i.e., archæological (epigraphic, numismatic, iconographic), anthropological (ethnographic), artistic, literary, etc. Similar source-material from other Asian countries which had contacts with India, as well as accounts by foreign travellers should be tapped for this purpose. *But a Sourcebook should not be a mere catalogue of all the types of sources; it should be selective in its approach* and the collected material may be scrutinized by experts.

(v) Regarding the contents, it was decided that a Sourcebook should deal with institutions and other cultural items, giving a time-and-space profile of each of these items. There should be a short introduction to each cultural item, followed by readings from the original sources. This introduction should give a brief idea of the significance of the item and its projection in time and space.

The following three (A, B & C) suggestions were made with regard to the major headings of the contents:

(A) (1) Technology and Applied Sciences
    (2) Economic Organization
    (3) Social and Political Organizations and Legal Institutions
    (4) Literary, Artistic and Aesthetic Aspects
    (5) Religion, Philosophy and Abstract Sciences.

(It was pointed out by some participants that aesthetics could go under philosophy and that law, social organization, political organization, literature and the fine arts should form separate chapters by themselves).

(B) (1) Basic Culture
    (2) Social Culture
    (3) Value Culture
    (4) Language
    (5) Morality and Law
    (6) Fashion

(C) The Drafting Committee, however, thought that the following classification might better cover the contents mentioned in (A) and (B) above:

(1) Technology and Applied Science
(2) Social Organization
(3) Economic Organization
(4) Political Organization
(5) Education
(6) Morality and Law
(7) The Arts and Crafts
(8) Literature
(9) Language and Script
(10) Religion
(11) Philosophy
(12) Mythology and Folk-lore
(13) Abstract Sciences.

In addition, there should be a concluding chapter interrelating the various chapters in order to bring out the fundamental concepts underlying the entire work.

(vi) There was a great deal of controversy as regards the inclusion of a separate chapter in *A Sourcebook on Indian Civilization,* on the cultural interaction between India and other countries, particularly Asian countries.[3]

One section of opinion strongly maintained that the contacts which had shaped India, as well as the Indian contacts that had shaped certain Asian countries should be presented in detail. Any Sourcebook which did not present this contribution of Indian civilization to the other countries would be incomplete.

The other view was that the question of cultural interaction should be taken up as and when relevant under each item in a Sourcebook, and that it need not be dealt with separately, as it would be injudicious for Indian scholars to highlight India's impact on other sister civilizations. This might well result in ignoring the points of view of scholars belonging to these other Asian civilizations.

6. The Seminar also discussed, separately, theme (II) *The Cultural Interaction between Indian and Other Asian Civilizations.*

Participants thought that although there was a dearth of trained scholars for other areas of study, yet it might just be possible to work on this theme, specially the interaction between India and South-East, East and Central Asia. A project like this may be more feasible in collaboration with scholars coming from these areas. Indian scholars could thus contribute usefully towards bringing out the significance of the various cultural contacts. The Seminar also recommended that the journal, *Indo-Asian Culture,* run by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, be used for academic articles on this fruitful theme.

7. The third theme (III) discussed was *A Sourcebook or Sourcebooks of Asian Civilization or Asian Civilizations.*

It was felt that, prior to the implementation of this theme, there was a need to depute university teachers and postgraduate students for a stated period of time to the different countries of Asia. This would enable them to study the languages and cultures of those lands in a systematic first-hand manner. They could then, on their return, promote these Area-Studies. This recommendation was made because there was as yet a great dearth of trained talent in the field. But some doubts were expressed as to whether students deputed on such training programmes, for a short period, would be able to fulfil all the demands of exact scholarship.

Nevertheless, it was generally agreed that, today, for any study of Ancient Asian Civilizations, one had to go to European and American centres of learning. Thus, since there was hardly any centre in Asia for such purposes, the participants felt that a beginning should be made in this direction. They recommended the strengthening of the already existing programmes for Area-Studies in Indian Universities, as well as future plans to develop greater specialization in it. Incentive may be given by means of scholarships, fellowships, etc. to selected teachers and students, and also by inviting scholars and visiting professors from these areas to teach and lecture in Indian universities. The idea of promoting archives of Asian materials, to be established in some Indian university centres, representing the civilizations of these countries was also put forth for strengthening Area-Studies.

8. The fourth theme (IV) discussed was *Culture and the Asian Tradition.*

Many participants felt that some existing studies of social and cultural traditions and of arts and crafts of various Asian countries reveals that the underlying pattern in all these aspects was very much the same in some Asiatic regions. For instance, the dance movements, certain forms of folk-play, the combination of music and speech in some forms of drama, puppet styles, musical modes, and the motifs and styles in architecture, sculpture and painting pointed to the existence of striking common features. This, in turn, suggested a common tradition, and a great affinity in the manifestations of the peculiar genius and outlook which was present amongst certain Asian countries.

However, in contrast, the outstanding and glaring similarity between these Asian nations that caught the eye of the observer in the 'modern world' was in the economic sphere, i.e., almost all of these Asian countries were "Developing Nations". But if one was to pay a close attention to some of the social and cultural traditions mentioned above, one might easily notice genuine consanguinity which had existed—and does exist—among these Asian civilizations.

In short, a project which would take into account the various social, political, cultural and economic similarities and communicate them with fullness of detail and proper documentation by an inter-Asian team of scholars, was sure to promote greater understanding and goodwill between India and other Asian countries. Moreover, a careful investigation into this theme might even yield unexpected results which would be fruitful for all the countries concerned. Thus, the participants were generally of the opinion that this matter of *Culture and the Asian Tradition* deserved further investigation from the academic, national and international standpoint.

9. The Seminar took note of what the representative of the Central Education Ministry had said regarding the availability of funds, and the limited duration of the Fourth Plan period. Nevertheless, regardless of the limitations of time and of funds for any project, participants recommended that all these four projects (I-IV mentioned above) discussed by them were of great importance. Therefore, the Government might think of allocating further adequate funds for these four themes during the ensuing plans.

However, it was recommended by the Seminar that in view of the funds available now, these should be used *preferably* for work on *A Sourcebook of Indian Civilization* (theme No. I) and *Culture and the Asian Tradition* (theme

No. IV). It further urged the Ministry of Education that funds should immediately be made available to the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, for implementing these projects.

As for projects No. II and III (*Cultural Interaction etc.* and *Sourcebook or Books of Asian Civilization or Civilizations*), the Seminar earnestly invited the attention of the Government and the University Grants Commission to promote the implementation of these researches by taking action on the following needs:

(a) To depute, for a stated period, Indian scholars to other Asian countries or to the centres of learning elsewhere in Europe and America, for studying the languages and civilizations of neighbouring Asian nations.

(b) To invite visiting professors from these countries to stay and teach for stated periods in universities which have such Area-Study programmes.

(c) To help universities, which have some existing programmes of Area Study, to build up archives of Asian materials (photostats, photographs, microfilms, etc.).

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NOTES

1. Discussions on the "Chronological Limits" centered around the following main points:

i. The unbroken continuity of Indian history and civilization was a fact which no one would deny. But there were also certain distinguishing phases in its evolutionary development. The first phase might best end around 1000-1200 A.D., i.e., with the coming of Islam in the North, and slightly later for the South with the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. This was one opinion.

ii. However, the evolutionary changes which are suggested to have taken place with the coming of Islam, such as in architecture, language, etc. was considered by others to be not of clear revolutionary nature so as to justify this periodization of Indian civilization into the Ancient, Medieval and the Modern. Moreover, if the obvious continuous developments are marked off so clearly, an understanding of the later periods would be lost. Thus, periodization of this sort may be avoided if the treatment of the source material was done in an institution-wise manner. For instance, during the 'Medieval' period the saint-singers and others like Shankaracharya etc. had played important roles in the development of Hinduism as we know it today. These developments would not be seen if a Sourcebook was limited to the traditional 'Ancient' period.

iii. The goals of writing a Sourcebook are for an understanding of *the totality of Indian civilization, not merely the writing of history, or cataloguing.* In this context, it might be useful to include 'Medieval' historians in a project of this kind.

The summary of this discussion was presented by V. Raghavan, as follows:

"That the scope of the proposed Sourcebook be from 2500 B.C. to 1200 A.D. with a preliminary account of pre-history and a supplementary account of the continuities in the period beyond A.D. 1200. There was a strong opinion that the lower limit should be left open, so that justice could be done for the period beyond A.D. 1200. There was a practical proposal made that a Sourcebook be on the basis of concepts and institutions, which would obviate the necessity to prescribe to specific date-limits.

"While the above is an approved record of the prevailing opinions . . . of the seminar, *writers of the Sourcebook may be free to decide the limits.*"

2. The following points emerged during the discussions on the "Structure and Design" of a Sourcebook on Indian Civilization:

i. Its Introduction should include, atleast for framework purposes, Indian political history, with information on the late and early historical geography.

ii. Prehistory and protohistory should figure prominently in it, as separate chapters.

iii. The various Indian views of the world, and the interaction between its various cultures should form an important part.

iv. Food, drinks, travel, war, sports and games, be included.

v. Science, mathematics, astronomy, etc. should also be included.

vi. Descriptive accounts should generally be avoided since a Sourcebook was on Civilization, and neither a book on Indian history nor a catalogue.

vii. Migration patterns, both within and without, the expansion of geographical knowledge, urbanization and town planning etc., topics should be included as separate chapters.

viii. A Sourcebook should be arranged chronologically, while an agreed chronological scheme should be adhered to and appended at the end.

ix. Appendices should give the necessary information on geography, political history, with a glossary of charts for Central Asia, West Asia, etc.

x. Stress should be more on the sources and chronology, with special emphasis on regional aspects, than on interpretation.

xi. Cosmology should not be brought under the same category as mythology.

xii. There should be separate chapters on (a) India's relations with her neighbours (events and personalities) and (b) concepts covering India and other neighbouring regions.

xiii. Flexible anthropological terms should be used to give more freedom to the writers of a Sourcebook.

xiv. Treatment of subjects should be institution-wise illustrated by texts, while an alphabetical treatment should be least emphasised.

xv. Arabic source between the 6-11*th* centuries A.D. should not be ignored.

xvi. Untranslated material and English translations of both the translated and untranslated one be given, with explanatory notes.

xvii. Archaeological sources must be thoroughly utilized.

xviii. Textual and contextual material with folk-practices and habits be utilized properly.

xix. Concept of Indian Civilization such as *Dharma, Karma* and *Purusartha* should be explained in the introduction.

xx. The urban and rural concepts of civilization, and the role of villages and forest where these concepts of culture were evolved in India by those who stood out of society and yet wielded effective influence in the shaping of ideas, should be adequately dealt with.

xxi. Indian ideas about Time and Progress should be dealt with.

xxii. In short, a "proposed Sourcebook should follow the dual and mutually corroborative parts, interpretative essays or introductions and reading material from textual, contextual, literary, non-literary, archæological and anthropological sources."

(V. Raghavan)

3. The problem of the inclusion of Asian civilizations, other than Indian, whether these should be dealt with separately or within the Indian framework was discussed in terms of its feasibility as a practical proposition. This was summed up as follows, by V. Raghavan:

   "While Indian cultural contacts with other Asian countries should figure prominently in the volume on Indian Civilization, the volume on Asian Civilizations be a part of the project, that it be undertaken on a phased programme, that a beginning be made even now for areas like Central Asia, West Asia and South-East Asia, on which we have already some experts, that the whole fields of Asia being a long-term project some preparatory work on it be taken up concurrently.

   "That it be a recommendation to Government to help an active programme of enabling the building-up of expert knowledge among Indian scholars on these Asian countries.

   "That this subject be taken up in a joint seminar to be held in the near future, consisting of Indian scholars and scholars of the other Asian countries."

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